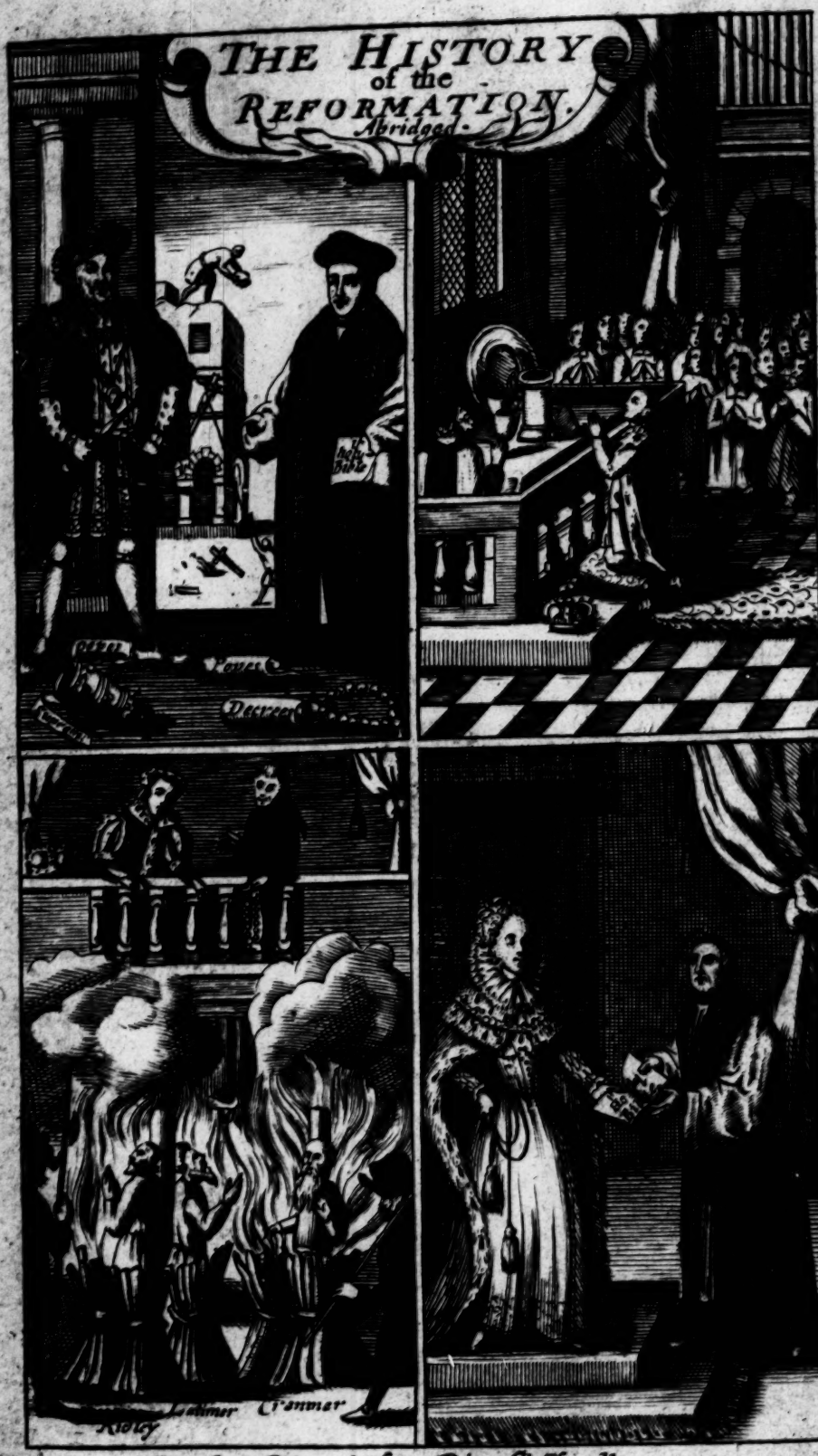
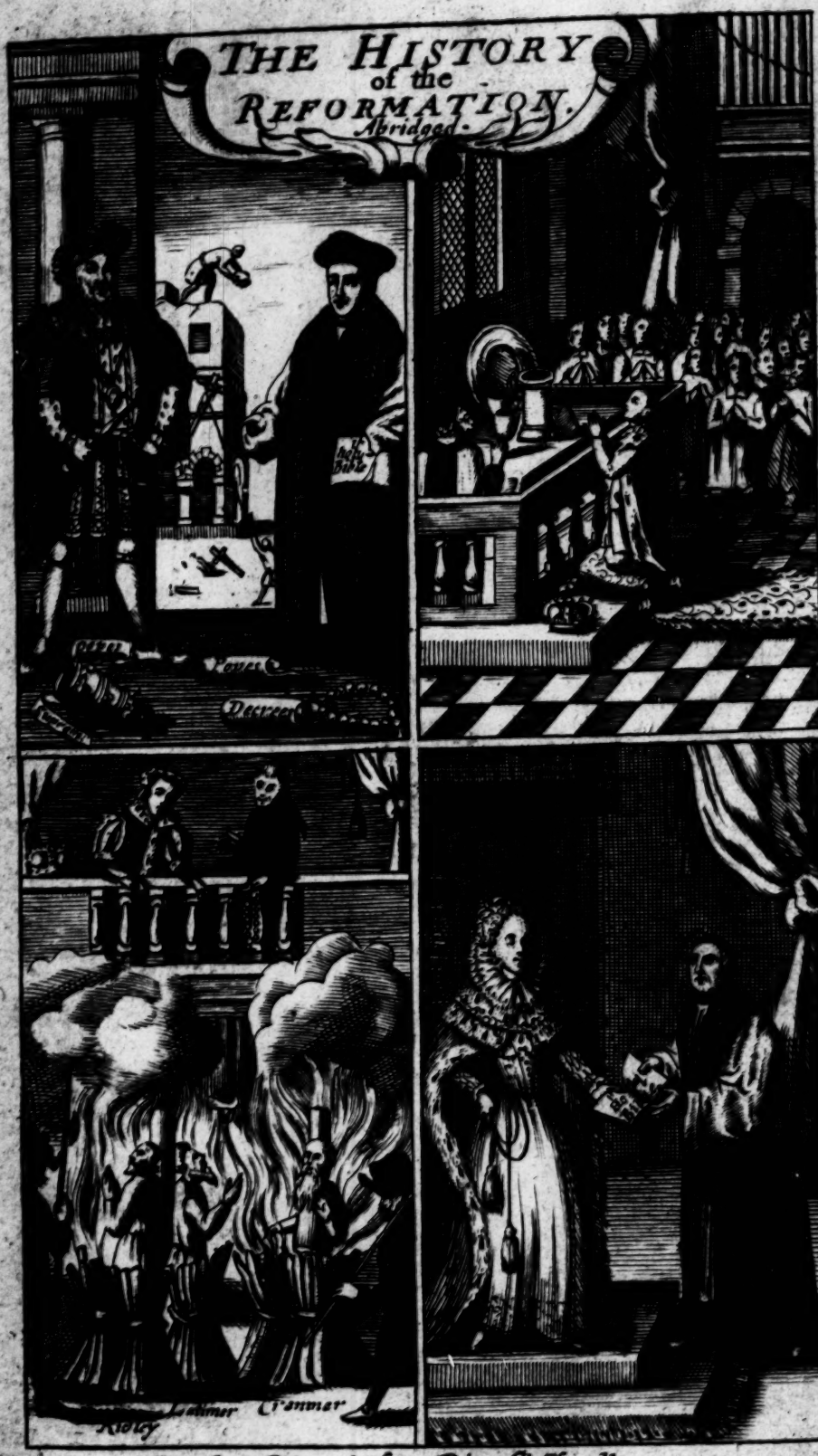


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THE ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of ENGLAND.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.
Now Lord Biſhop of *Sarum*.

The Fourth Edition Corrected.

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THE PREFACE.

THE Bulk and Price of the two Volumes of the History of our Reformation which I have published, being such, that every one cannot find the Money to buy them, or the Leisure to read them, I have been desired by many to contract what I prosecuted more largely in that Work, and bring it into a less Compass.

I know Abridgements are generally hurtful: In them Men receive such a slight Tincture of Knowledge, as only feeds Vanity, and furnishes Discourse, but does not give so clear a View of things, nor so solid an Instruction as may be had in more copious Writings. And as it is a grievous Imposition on that Time, which ought to be imployed to better Uses, to draw out that which might be expressed in few Words, to such a length, that it frights some from the study of Books, which might have been of excellent Use, if they had not been too Voluminous; and oppresses the Patience of those who are resolved to acquire Knowledge in the most laborious Methods; so it is on the other hand a great Prejudice to the Improvement of Learning, when things are too much contracted, and such hints are only given, as may be the Seeds of excellent Notions, perhaps in very rich and fruitful Minds: for copious Enlargements are often necessary to make the greatest part, who are generally slow and heavy in their Apprehensions, enter into those Notions which we set before them. It is a true Judgment of Men and Things, that must direct us to seek and keep that Mean betwixt those Extreams that may be of the greatest Advantage to the World.

What is said of Notions and Matters of Science, is likewise applicable to Matters of Fact. History is of little use, if we consider it only as a Tale of what was transacted in former times. Then it becomes most profitable, when the Series and Reasons of Affairs, and secret Councils and Ends, together with the true Characters of Eminent Men, are rightly presented to us, that so upon the light which is given us of past Times, we may form Prudent Judgments of the present Time, and probable Conjectures of what is to come; and may frame such a true Idea of Men and Parties, as may both enlighten our Understandings more, by giving us a freer Prospect of Humane Affairs, and may better direct us in our Conduct.

This made me judg it necessary to open things in my History as largely as my Materials could serve me: and because I writ upon a Subject that had been much contradicted, I was obliged not only to add a great Collection of Records for my Justification, which makes the half of each Volume, but likewise in the History it self, to give an account of the Grounds on which I went. I also added an Appendix, containing the more remarkable Calumnies, by which the Writers of the Roman Communion have endeavoured to corrupt the History of that time; together with a Confutation of them. I was likewise careful to set down many particular Curiosities relating to the Proceedings of Parliament, of the Importance of which every Reader will not be aware at first. I gave also a large account of all the Arguments that prevailed with the Divines, as well as the Reasons that wrought on States-men, in the Changes that were made: In which the Reader may find an Apology for the Reformation, interwoven with its History.

In all these Particulars, there was Matter enough for an Abridger to cut off a great deal, and yet to give such an account of the whole Transaction, as might in a great measure satisfy even Inquisitive Persons. I understood that Another *was about this, which made me re-*

solve

ſolve on doing it my ſelf; for none can ſo truly comprehend, and by Conſequence Abridge any Book as the Author himſelf; who, as he knows his own meaning beſt; ſo he who has fixed his Thoughts long upon any Argument, will be beſt able to judge what are the Things and Circumſtances that are of the greateſt Importance, and are moſt neceſſary to be rightly underſtood. In Compiling this Abridgment, I have wholly waved every thing that belonged to the Records, and the Proof of what I relate, or to the Confutation of the falſhoods that run through the Popiſh Hiſtorians: All That *is to be found in the Hiſtory at large; and therefore in this Abridgment every thing is to be taken upon truſt, and thoſe that deſire a fuller Satisfaction, are to ſeek it in the Volumes which I have already publiſhed. The Particularities relating to the Proceedings of both Houſes of Parliament could not be brought within ſo ſhort an Abſtract. Many Digreſſions, and the Deductions of Arguments, are either paſt over, or but ſhortly touched. He that deſires to be particularly informed in any or all of theſe, muſt reſort to the Hiſtory it ſelf.*

All that I pretend to have done in this Abridgment is, that I have given a true and clear Account of the Progreſs of the Reformation, in all thoſe Windings, and Advances, and Declinings, through which it was carried from its firſt beginnings, till it was brought to a compleat Settlement under Queen Elizabeth: *And this is done in ſuch a manner, that I hope the Reader ſhall not find much cauſe to complain that the endeavouring to be ſhort has made me either obſcure or defective. In the Prefaces to the two Volumes I endeavoured to clear the Reader's Mind of the Prejudices which may be apt to ariſe, either from a ſlight and general View of this Matter, or from the falſe Relations that have been formerly made of it. I ſhall not undertake to Abridge them, for I brought them there into as narrow a Compaſs as the weight of the Matter did admit of: Therefore I refer the Reader, that labours under the ill Effects of ſuch Impreſſions to the Pre-*

faces themselves; and I shall add here that which is the last part of the Preface to the Second Volume, because it may be of more general Use, and is accommodated to All, that as may be supposed, will have the Curiosity to read this Abridgment, that so they may come to it with a true Idea of the Nature of Religion in general, and of the Christian Religion in particular.

That Religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the Nature of Man, for improving his Faculties, governing his Actions, and securing the Peace of every Man's Conscience, and of the Societies of Mankind in common, is a Truth so plain, that without further arguing about it, All will agree to it. Every part of Religion is then to be judged by its Relation to the main Ends of it; And since the Christian Doctrine was revealed from Heaven, as the most perfect and proper Way that ever was, for the advancing the good of Mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy Faith but what is proportioned to the End for which it was designed. And all the Additions that have been made to it, since it was first delivered to the World, are justly to be suspected; especially where it is manifest at first View, that they were intended to serve Carnal and Secular Ends. What can be reasonably supposed in the Papacy, where the Popes are chosen by such Intrigues either of the two Crowns, the Nephews of the former Pope, or the Craft of some aspiring Men, to entitle them to Infallibility or Universal Jurisdiction? What can we think of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, or preserving them from it by Tricks, or some mean Pageantry, but that it is a foul piece of Merchandise? What is to be said of Implicite Obedience, the Priestly Dominion over Consciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the Peoples Hands, and the Worship of God in a strange Tongue? but that these are so many Arts to hoodwink the World, and to deliver it up into the Hands of the Ambitious Clergy? What can we think of Superstition and Idolatry, of Images, and all the other Pomp of the Roman *Worship? but that by these*

things

things the People were to be kept up in a gross notion of Religion, as a splendid business, and that the Priests have a Trick of saving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that Matter wholly in their Hands. And to sum up all, What can we think of that Constellation of Prodigies in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpose? but that it is an Art to bring the World by Whole sale to renounce their Reason and Sense, and to have a most wonderful Veneration for a sort of Men who can with a word perform the most astonishing thing that ever was.

I should grow too large for a Preface, if I would pursue this Argument as far as it will go But if on the other hand, we reflect on the true Ends of this holy Religion, we must needs be convinced that we need go no where else out of This Church *to find them; and that we are compleatly instructed in all parts of it, and furnished with all the Helps to advance us to that which is indeed* the End of our Faith, the Salvation of our Souls. *Here we have the Rule of holy Obedience, and the Methods of Repentance and Reconciliation for past Sins clearly set before us. We believe all that Doctrine which Christ and his Apostles delivered, and the Primitive Church received: We have the comfort of all those Sacraments which Christ instituted, and in the same manner that he appointed them: All the Helps to Devotion that the Gospel offers are in every one's Hand. So what can it be that should so extravagantly seduce any who have been bred up in a Church so well Constituted? unless a blind Superstition in their Temper, or a desire to get Heaven in some easier Method than Christ hath appointed, do strangely impose on their Understandings, or corrupt their Minds. Indeed the thing is so unaccountable, that it looks like a Curse from Heaven on those who are given up to it, for their other Sins; for an ordinary Measure of Infatuation cannot carry any one so far in Folly. And it may be laid down for a certain* Maxim, *that such as leave us, have never had a*

true

true and well-formed Notion of Religion, or of Chriſtianity in its main and chief Deſign; but take things in parcels, and without examining them, ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by ſome Prejudices which only darken weaker Judgments.

But if it is an high and unaccountable Folly for any to forſake our Communion, and go over to thoſe of Rome, *it is at the ſame time an unexcuſable Weakneſs in others who ſeem full of Zeal againſt* Popery, *and yet upon ſome inconſiderable Objections to depart from the Unity of the Body, and form ſeparated Aſſemblies and Communions; though they cannot object any thing material either to our Doctrine or Worſhip: But the moſt aſtoniſhing part of the Wonder is, that in ſuch Differences there ſhould be ſo little mutual forbearance or gentleneſs to be found: And that they ſhould raiſe ſuch Heats as if the Subſtance of Religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a Stroke from Heaven on both ſides, for their other Sins: We of the Church-Communion have truſted too much to the ſupports we receive from the Law, we have done our Duties too ſlightly, and have minded the Care of Souls too little; therefore God to puniſh and awaken us, has ſuffered ſo many of our People to be wreſted out of our Hands: And thoſe of the Separation have been too forward to Blood and War, and therby have drawn much Guilt on themſelves, and have been to compliant with the Leaders of their ſeveral Factions, or rather apt to out-run them. It is plain, God is offended with us all, and therefore we are puniſhed with this fatal blindneſs, not to ſee at this time the things that belong to our Peace.*

And this leads me to Reflections of another Sort, with which I ſhall conclude this Preface.

It is apparent the Wrath of God hangs over our Heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The Symptoms of our ill Condition are as ſad as they are viſible: And one of the worſt is, that each Sort and Party is very ready to throw the Guilt of it off themſelves, and caſt it on others,

with whom they are displeased: But no Man says, What have I done? *The Clergy accuse the Laity, and the Country complains of the City: Every one finds out somewhat wherein he thinks he is least concerned, and is willing to fix on* That *all the Indignation of Heaven, which God knows, we our selves have kindled against our selves. It cannot be denied, since it is so visible, that generally the whole Nation is corrupted, and that the Gospel has not had those Effects among us which might have been expected, after so long and so free a Course as it has had in this* Island. *Our wise and worthy Progenitors reformed our Doctrine and Worship; but we have not reformed our Lives and Manners: What will it avail us to understand the right Methods of Worshipping God, if we are without true Devotion, and coldly perform publick Offices, without sense and affection, which is as bad as a* Bead-roll *of Prayers in whatsoever Language they are pronounced? What signifies our having the Sacraments purely administred among us, if we either contemptuously neglect them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with Law, than out of the sense of the Holy Duties incumbent on us? For what end are the Scriptures put in our Hands, if we do not read them with great Attention, and order our Lives according to them? And what does all Preaching signify, if Men go to Church meerly for Form, and hear Sermons only as set Discourses, which they will censure or commend as they think they see Cause, but are resolved never to be the better for them? If to all these sad Considerations, we add the gross Sensuality and Impurity, that is so avowedly practised that it is become a Fashion, so far it is from being a Reproach; the Oppression, Injustice, Intemperance, and many other Immoralities among us, what can be expected, but that these Abominations receiving the highest Aggravations they are capable of from the clear Light of the Gospel which we have so long enjoyed, the just Judgments of Heaven should fall on us so signally, as to make us a reproach to*

all

all our Neighbours. But as if all this were not enough, to fill up the measure of our Iniquities, many have arrived at a new pitch of Impiety, by defying Heaven it self, with their avowed Blasphemies and Atheism: And if they are driven out of their Atheistical Tenets, which are indeed the most Ridiculous of any in the World, they set up their rest on some general Notions of Morality and Natural Religion, and do boldly reject all that is Revealed: And where they dare vent it, (alas! where dare they not do it?) they reject Christianity and the Scriptures, with open and impudent Scorn, and are absolutely insensible of any Obligation of Conscience in any thing whatsoever: And even in that Morality, which they for Decency sake magnify so much, none are more barefacedly and grosly faulty. This is a direct Attempt against God himself, and can we think that he will not visit for such things, nor be avenged on such a Nation? And yet the Hypocrisy of those who disguise their flagitious Lives, with a Mask of Religion, is perhaps a Degree above all, though not so scandalous till the Mask falls off, and then they appear to be what they truly are. When we are all so guilty, and when we are so alarmed by the black Cloud that threatens such terrible and lasting Storms, what may be expected but that we should be generally struck with a deep sense of our crying Sins, and turn to God with our whole Souls? But if after all the loud Awakenings from Heaven we will not hearken to that Voice, but will still go on in our Sins, we may justly look for unheard of Calamities, and such Miseries as shall be proportioned to our Offences; and then we are sure they will be great and wonderful.

Yet, if on the other hand there were a general turning to God, or at least if so many were rightly sensible of this, as, according to the Proportion that the Mercies of God allow, did some way ballance the Wickedness of the rest, and if these were as Zealous in the true Methods of imploring God's Favour, as others are in procuring his Displeasure;

pleasure; and were not only mourning for their own Sins, but for the Sins of others; the Prayers and Sighs of many such, might dissipate that dismal Cloud which our Sins have gathered, and we might yet hope to see the Gospel take Root among us: Since that *God who is the Author of it is Merciful and full of Compassion, and ready to forgive; and this holy Religion which by his Grace is planted among us, is still so dear to him, that if we by our own unworthiness do not render our selves incapable of so great a Blessing we may reasonably hope that he will continue that which at first was by so many happy concurring Providences brought in, and was by a continued* Series *of the same indulgent Care advanced by Degrees, and at last raised to that pitch of Perfection which few things attain in this World.*

THE

THE CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

Of the Beginnings of the Reformation, and of the Progreſs made in it by King *Henry* the Eighth.

THE Union of the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, in King *Hemy* the VIII. Page 1
Empſon and *Dudley* diſgraced, 2
He is very Liberal *ibid.*
Is ſucceſsful in his Wars, 3
He is courted both by *France* and *Spain*, 4
Francis I. is taken Priſoner, 5
And afterwards the Pope, 6
Scotland in diſorder, *ibid.*
Factions in the Engliſh Council, 7
Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Riſe, *ib.*
And Greatneſs, 8
Charles Brandon's Advancement, 9
The King is well with his Parliament, 10
The King's Education, *ib.*
His Learning and Vanity, 11
The Way of Promoting Biſhops 12
A Conteſt for the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity, *ibid.*
Hunn Impriſoned, Murdered, and his Body burned, 14
Further Diſputes about Immunity, 15
The King much addicted to the Papacy 17
Cardi. *Wolſey* intends to reform the Clergy, 18
The ſummoning of Convocations, *ibid.*
The State of the Monaſteries, 19
Wolſey ſuppreſſes many, 20
The Progreſs of *Wickliff*'s Doctrine, *ibid.*
The Cruelty of the Clergy, 21
Laws made againſt Hereticks, 22
Warham perſecutes the *Lollards*, 23
The Progreſs of *Luther*'s Doctrine, 25
The King writes againſt him, 26
The King's Marriage, 27
Matches propoſed for his Daughter, 29
The King has ſcruples about his Marriage, 30
1527.
And applies to the Pope for a Divorce, 32
Who is very favourable, *ib.*
1528

1528.
Campegio ſent as Legate to try it, 35
He comes into *England* with a Decretal Bull, 36
Campana ſent over to deceive the King, 37
The Pope reſolved to joyn with the Emperour, 38
1529.
The Pope's Sickneſs, 39
Wolſey aſpires to the Popedom, *ibid.*
The Pope promiſes to confirm the Sentence that ſhould be given by the Legates, 40
The Proceſs begins in *England*, 42
Longland his Confeſſion, 43
The Queen appeals to the Pope, 44
The Pope grants an Avocation, 45
Cranmer's Riſe, 46
Wolſey's Diſgrace, 47
1530.
His Death, 48
A Parliament is called, *ibid.*
The King's Debts are diſcharged, 49
Univerſities declare againſt the Marriage, *ibid.*
It is condemned by the *Sorbon*, 51
The Opinions of the Reformers about it, 52
The Engliſh Nobility write to the Pope about it, and he anſwers them, 53
Arguments for the Divorce, 54
Arguments againſt it, 57
1531.
A Seſſion of Parliament, 58
The Laws formerly made againſt the Pope's Bulls, 59
The Clergy ſued in a Præmunire, 64
Poiſoning made Treaſon, 66
The King leaves the Queen, *ibid.*
A Tumult among the Clergy, 67
The Pope joins himſelf to *France*, *ibid.*
1532.
Differences between the K. and the Houſe of Commons, 69
An Act againſt Annats, *ibid.*
The Pope writes to the King, 70
The King anſwers, *ibid.*
The King cited to *Rome*, 71
And Cardinals corrupted, 72
A Seſſion of Parliament, 74
The Biſhops Oaths to the Pope and the King, *ibid.*
More lays down his Office, 75
The King of *England* and *France* meet, *ibid.*
The King Marries *Anne Boleyn*, 76
1533.
The Parliament condemns Appeals to *Rome*, 77
Cranmer made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 78
The Convocation condemns the Marriage, 79
Cranmer gives Sentence, with the Cenſures of it, 80, 81
The proceedings at *Rome* upon it, 83

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth* born, *ibid.*
The Pope Promiſes to ſatisfy the King, 84
But proceeds haſtily to a Sentence, 86
Arguments for rejecting the Pope's Power, 87
And for the King's Supremacy, 90
The Clergy ſubmit to it, 92
A Seſſion of Parliament *ibid.*

1534.

The Pope's Power condemned in Parliament, 93
The Act of the Succeſſion, *ibid.*
An Act concerning Hereticks, 94
The Submiſſion of the Convocation, 95
An Act for Election of Biſhops, 96
The Attainder of the Nun of *Kent*, 97
All Swear the Oath of Succeſſion, 101
Fiſher Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, is in trouble, *ibid.*
But is very obſtinate, 102
More and *Fiſher* refuſe the Oath, 103
Another Seſſion of Parliament eſtabliſhes the King's Supremacy, 104
The Progreſs of the Reformation in *England*, 106
The Supplication of the Beggars, 108
Frith writes againſt Purgatory, *ibid.*
A Perſecution ſet on by *More*, 109
Bilney's Martyrdom, 110
Frith's Sufferings, 112
A ſtop put to further Cruelties, 115
The Intereſt the Reformers had at Court, *Ibid.*
Others oppoſe them much, 116
The Opinion of ſome Biſhops of a General Council, 117
Heads of a Speech of *Cranmer*'s, *Ibid.*
The State of *England* at that time, 119

1535.

A General Viſitation propoſed, 122
Inſtructions and Injunctions for it, *ibid.*
The ſtate of the Monaſteries in *England*, 124
Some Houſes ſurrendred to the King, 127

1536.

Queen *Katherine's* Death, 128
The leſſer Monaſteries ſuppreſſed, 129
A Tranſlation of the Bible deſigned, 130
Queen *Anne Boleyn's* Fall, 132
Her Trial, 135
And Execution, 137
Cenſures paſt upon it, 138
Lady *Mary*'s Submiſſion to the King, 140
The Act of the Succeſſion, 141
The Pope deſires a Reconciliation with the King, 142
Acts againſt the Pope's Power, 143
The Convocation examines ſome Points of Religion, *ibid.*

Articles

Articles of Religion agreed on, 145
Which are variouſly, cenſured, 147
Other alterations propoſed, 148
The King proteſts againſt all Councils called by the Pope, 150
Card. *Pool* writes againſt him, 151
The leſſer Monaſteries ſeized on, 153
Which gave a general diſcontent, 154
Injunctions given by the King, 156
A Rebellion in *Lincolnſhire*, 157
Another in *Yorkſhire*, 158
They are every where quieted, 162
Greater Monaſteries ſurrendred, 163
Some Abbots Attainted, 166
The Impoſtures of ſome Images diſcovered 169
Becket's Shrine broken, 170
The Pope thunders againſt the King, 172
The Engliſh Biſhops aſſert the King's Supremacy, and explain the Nature of the Power of the Church, 174
The Bible ſet out in Engliſh, and new Injunctions, 176
Prince *Edward* born, 177
Lambert is condemned and burnt for denying the Corporal Preſence. 178
Treaties with the *German* Princes, 181

1539.

The Act of the ſix Articles, 182
The Duke of *Norfolk* propoſeth the ſix Articles, 183
Cenſures paſt upon it, 186
An Act for the ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries, 187
An Act for new Biſhopricks, 188
An Act for Proclamations, 190
The Statute of the Precedence of the Biſhops, 191
Some Attainted without being heard, *ibid.*
The King's kindneſs to *Cranmer*, 192
Biſhops hold their Sees at the King's Pleaſure, 194
All the Monaſteries ſuppreſt, *ibid.*
The yearly Rents of the Abbey-Lands 195
A Treaty for a Match with *Ann* of *Cleve*, 197
The King marries her, but never likes her, 199
A new Parliament, *ibid.*
The Knights of St. *John* ſuppreſſed, 200
Cromwell's Fall, 201
His Attainder, 203
Cenſures paſt upon it, 204
The King's Marriage annull'd 205
Cromwel's Death, 208
A Book of Religion ſet out by the Biſhops, 209
The explanation of Faith, 210
And of the Sacraments, 211

The Book is publiſhed, 214
Barns and others fall into Trouble, 216
And burnt, 218
New Sees founded, 220
1541.
The Bible ſet up in Churches, 222
The Affairs of *Scotland*, 223
A Perſecution ſet on foot in *Scotland* 227
The Queen's ill Life is diſcovered, 229
1542.
A deſign to ſuppreſs the Bible, 231
Bonner's Injunctions, 232
The way of Preaching at that time, 233
A War with *Scotland*, 234
1543.
A Parliament called, 236
An Act about Religion, 237
Affairs in *Scotland*, 238
Some burnt at *Windſor*, 240
Cranmer's Ruin is deſigned, 242
1544.
The Act of Succeſſion, 243
The King makes War on *France* and *Scotland*, 245
The King takes *Bolloign*, 246
1545.
Wiſhart burnt in *Scotland*, 247
Cardinal *Beaton* is murdered, 249
Chanteries given to the King, 250
1546.
A peace with *France*, 251
Ann Aſchough and others burnt, 252
Deſigns againſt *Cranmer*, 253
And againſt the Queen, 254
The Duke of *Norfolk*'s Fall, 255
1547.
The Earl of *Surry* Executed, 257
The Duke is Attainted in Parliament, 258
The Kings Sickneſs, *ibid.*
And Death, 260
His Severities againſt Papiſts, *ibid.*
The *Carthuſians* in particular, 261
Fiſher's Sufferings, 262
More's Death and Character, 263
Attainders after the Rebellions, 265
Forreſt burnt for Hereſy, *ibid.*
Cardinal *Pool*'s Friends Attainted, 266
Some Attainted without being heard, *ibid.*
The Concluſion, 268

BOOK II.

Of the Life and Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth.

KIng *Edward*'s Birth and Education, 271
King *Henry*'s Teſtament, 272
A Protector choſen, 273
Biſhops take out Commiſſions, 374

The Contents.

A Creation of Noblemen, *ibid.*
Laymen had Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, 276
Some take down Images, 277
Arguments for, and againſt it, 278
The King's Funeral, 280
Soul-Maſſes examined, 281
The Coronation, 282
The Chancellor turned out, 283
The Prorector's Patent, 284
The Affairs of *Germany*, 285
The Council of *Trent*, 286
Diviſions in *England*, 287
The Viſitation of all Churches, 289
Cenſures on the Injunctions, 292
The War with *Scotland*, 293
The Battel of *Muſſelburgh*, 296
The ſucceſs of the Viſitation, 297
A Parliament meets, 299
An Act of Repeal, 300
An Act about the Sacrament, *ibid.*
An Act concerning the Nomination of *Biſhops*, 301
An Act againſt Vagabonds, 303
An Act for diſſolving the Chanteries, *ibid.*
The Convocation ſits, 304
The Affairs of *Germany*, 306
Difference between the Protector and the Admiral, 308

1548.

The M. of *Northampton*'s Divorce, 319
Some Ceremonies abrogated, 311
A new Office for the Communion, 313
Auricular Confeſſion examined, 315
Gardiner is impriſoned, 316
A new Liturgy compoſed, 318
The new Offices, 320
Private Communion, 321
Cenſures paſt on the Common-Prayer Book, 322
All Preaching was for ſome time reſtrained, 323
Affairs in Scotland, *ibid.*
Affairs in *Germany*, 325

1549.

A Seſſion of Parliament, 326
An Act for the Marriage of the Clergy, *ibid.*
An Act confirming the Liturgy, 329
An Act for Faſting, 330
The Admiral's Attainder, 331
A new Viſitation, 332
Diſputes concerning Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament, 334
Arguments againſt the Corporal Preſence, 336
Annabaptiſts in *England*, 339
Two were burnt, *ibid.*
The Doctrine of Predeſtination abuſed, 341
Tumults in ſeveral parts of *England*, *ibid.*
The Rebellion in *Devonſhire*, 342
And in *Norfolk*, 344

The French begin a War, *ibid.*
The Rebels every where routed, 345
A viſitation at *Cambridg*, 346
Bonner's Proceſs, 347
And Deprivation, 351
Ill Succeſs of the *Engliſh*, 352
Several Expedients propoſed, 355
The Emperour refuſes his Aſſiſtance, 256
A Faction againſt the Protector, 358
Which turns to a publick Breach, 359
The Protectors Fall, 361
The Emperour will not aſſiſt them, 362
A Seſſion of Parliament, *ibid.*

1550.

The Duke of *Somerſet* fined, but reſtored into Favour, 363
A Progreſs of the Reformation, 364
The Book of Ordinations put out, *ibid.*
Pool choſen Pope, but loſt it, 367
A Treaty with *France*, 368
Ridley made Biſhop of *London*, 369
Gardiner's Proceſs, 370
Latimer preaches at Court, 371
Hooper made Biſhop of *Gloeeſter*, has ſome Scruple concerning the Veſtments, 372
A review of the Common-Prayer Book, 373
Bucer offers ſome Advices to the King. 374
The King's great Knowledge, 375
Altars put down, *ibid.*
Affairs of *Scotland*, 376
And *Germany*, 377

1551.

The Popiſh Party comply generally, 378
Bucer's Death, 379
Gardiner's Deprivation, *ibid.*
The Articles of Religion agreed on, 380
Changes made in the Common-Prayer Book, 382
Lady *Mary* in trouble for having Maſs ſaid, 384
The Earl of *Warwick*'s Deſigns, 387
A Treaty for a Marriage to the King, 389
The Duke of *Somerſet*'s Fall, *ibid.*
His Trial, 390
Rich gives up the Great Seal, and it was given to the Biſhop of *Ely*, 392
The Duke of *Somerſet*'s Execution, 394
The Affairs of *Germany*, 396

1552.

A Seſſion of Parliament, 397
An Act againſt Uſury, 400
A Repeal of the Settlement of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Eſtate, 401
Tonſtall is impriſoned, 402
A Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, 403
The Heads of it, 404
The Poverty of the Clergy, 407
Affairs in *Ireland*, 408

A

A Change in the Garter, 410
Northumberland's Severity, *ibid.*
Trade flouriſhes much, 411
Cardan in *England*, 412
Affairs in *Scotland*, 414
The Affairs in *Germany*, 415
An Account of the Council of *Trent*, 417
The Emperours Deſigns are blaſted, 418

1553.

A Bill propoſed, that Laymen ſhould not hold Church-Dignities, 420
An Act ſuppreſſing the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, *ibid.*
Another Viſitation, 421
Biſhops made by the King's Patent, *ibid.*
Affairs in *Germany*, 422
The King's Sickneſs, 423
The Patents for the Succeſſion to the Crown, 424
The King's Death, and Character, 426

BOOK III.

The Life and Reign of Queen *Mary*.

QUeen *Mary* ſuceeds, 429
But Lady *Jane Gray* is proclaimed, 431
Cenſures paſt upon that, *ibid.*
Many turn to Queen *Mary*, 432
Northumberland marches againſt her, 433
The Council declares for her, 434
She comes to *London*, 435
Her former Life. 436
The Councils then laid down, 437
Northumberland's Trial, 438
And Execution, *ibid.*
King *Edward*'s Funeral, 439
A Tumult at St. *Paul*'s. 440
Severe Proceedings againſt the Men of *Suffolk* and others, 441
Particularly againſt Judge *Hales*, 442
Cranmer's Impriſonment, 443
The Strangers driven out of *England*, 444
The Popular Arts uſed by *Gardiner*, 445
A Parliament meets, and repeals ſeveral Laws, 446
The Queens Mother's Marriage confirmed, 447
King *Edward*'s Laws about Religion repealed, 448
The Duke of *Norfolk*'s Attainder repealed, 449
A Treaty for reconciling *England* to the Pope, 450
And for a Match with the Prince of *Spain*, 451
Pool's Advice to the Queen, 452
The Parliament oppoſes the Match, and is diſſolved, 453

A Convocation meets, and disputes about the Sacrament, 454

1554.

The Treaty of Marriage begun, 457
Which provokes some to rebel, 458
Wiat's Rebellion *ibid.*
Lady *Jane Gray*'s Execution, 460
Several others suffered, 461
The Imposture of the Spirit in the Wall, 462
Injunctions sent to the Bishops, *ibid.*
Many Bishops turned out, 463
A new Parliament, 465
A Proposition to make the Queen Absolute, *ibid.*
New disputations at *Oxford* with *Cranmer*, 467
The Prince of *Spain* lands; and marries the Queen, 470
The Bishops visit their Dioceses, 472
Another Parliament, 474
The Nation is reconciled to the See of *Rome*, 475
Gardiner's Policy in the steps of this Change, 478
Consultations about the way of Proceedings against Hereticks. 479

1555.

A Persecution is set on foot, 481
Rogers and *Hooper* condemned and burnt, *ibid.*
The Burnings much condemned, 483
Arguments against them, and for them, 484
The Queen restores the Church-Lands, 486
Marcellus chosen Pope: *Paul* the 4th succeeds, 487
The English Embassadors come to *Rome*, *ibid.*
The *English* grow backward to Persecution, 488
The Queen's Delivery in vain looked for, 489
More Hereticks burnt, *ibid.*
Religious Houses set up, 491
Sir *Tho. More*'s Works published, *ibid.*
Ridley and *Latimer* burnt, 492
Gardiner's Death, 494
The Parliament ill pleas'd with the Queen's conduct, 495
Pool's Decrees for the Reformation of the Clergy, 497
He refuses to bring the Jesuits into *England*, 499
More of the Reformed are burnt, 500
Affairs in *Germany*, *ibid.*
Charles the 5th's Resignation, *ibid.*

1556.

Cranmer's Sufferings, 501
He repents, and is burnt, 504
His Character, 505
More Burnings. *ibid.*
The Reformed encrease upon this, 507
The Troubles at *Frankfort*, *ibid.*
Pool made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 508

More

More Religious Houſes, *ibid.*
The Pope ſets on a War between *France* and Spain, 509
1557.
A Viſitation of the Univerſities, 511
A ſevere Inquiſition of Heticks, 512
More Burnings, 113
Lord *Stourton* hanged, 514
The Queen joyns in a War againſt *France*, 515
The Battel at St. *Quintin*, 516
The Pope recals *Pool*, *ibid.*
Affairs in *Germany*, 518
1558.
Calais and other places taken by the *French*, 519
Great Diſcontents in *England*, 521
The Parliament meets, *ibid.*
The Carriage and Uſage of the Lady *Elizabeth* all this Reign. 522
More burnings, 524
Ill Succeſs and ſtrange Accidents, 525
The *Dauphin* and Queen of *Scotland* married, 526
A Parliament in *England*, 527
The Queen's Death, *ibid.*
Pool's Death and Character, 528
The Queen's Character, *ibid.*

BOOK IV.

QUeen *Elizabeth* Proclaimed. 531
The Queen came to *London*, 532
Philip propoſes marriage to the Queen, but in vain, 533
The Counſels about changing Religion, *ibid.*
Scheme Propoſed, 534
The Impatience of ſome, 535
Parker refuſes the See of *Canterbury* long. *ibid.*
1559.
Bacon made Lord Keeper, 536
The Queen is Crowned, *ibid.*
A Parliament is called, 537
The Peace at *Cambray*, *ibid.*
Acts paſt in Parliament, 538
The Commons pray the Queen to marry, 539
Her title to the Crown acknowledged, *ibid.*
Acts concerning Religion, 540
Preaching without Licence forbidden, 541
Arguments for and againſt the Worſhip in an unknown Tongue, 542
The *Engliſh* Service is again ſet up, 545
Speeches made againſt it by ſome Biſhops, *ibid.*
Many Biſhops turned out, 547
The Queen inclined to keep Images in Churches, 548
general Viſitation, 549
The High Commiſſion Courts, 550
Parker is very unwillingly made

made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 551
The other Biſhops conſecrated, 552
The Fable of the Nags Head confuted, 553
The Articles of the Church publiſhed, *ibid.*
A Tranſlation of the Bible, 554
The want of Church-Diſcipline, 555
The Reformation in *Scotland*, *ibid.*
It is firſt ſet up in St. *Johnſtown*, 557
The Queen of *England* aſſiſts the *Scots*, 560
The Queen Regent dies, *ibid.*
A Parliament meets, and ſettles the Reformation, 561
The Queen of *England* the Head of all the Proteſtants, 562
Both in *France*, *ibid.*
And the *Netherlands*, 564
The excellent Adminiſtration of Affairs in *England*, *ibid.*
Severities againſt the Papiſts were neceſſary, 565
Sir Fr. Walſingham's Account of the ſteps in which ſhe proceeded, 566
The Concluſion, 567

THE

AN ABRIDGMENT OF THE History of the Reformation OF THE Church of ENGLAND.

LIB. I.

Of the Beginnings of it, and the Progress made in it, by King Henry *the Eighth.*

THE Wars of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, had produced such dismal Revolutions, and cast *England* into such frequent and terrible Convulsions, that the Nation, with great joy received *Henry* the Seventh; who being himself descended from the House of *Lancaster*, by his marriage with the Heir of the House of *York*, did deliver them from the fear of any more Wars by new Pretenders. But the Covetousness of his

Book I.

The Union of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* in K. H. VIII.

Book I. Temper, the Severity of his Miniſters, his ill Conduct in the Matter of *Britagn*, and his jealouſy of the Houſe of *York*, not only gave occaſion to Impoſtors to diſturb his Reign, but to ſeveral Inſurrections that were raiſed in his Time: By all which he was become ſo generally odious to his People, that as his Son might have raiſed a dangerous Competition for the Crown during his Life, as devolved on him by his Mother's Death, who was indeed the Rightful Heir; ſo his Death was little lamented. And *Henry* the Eighth ſucceeded, with all the Advantages he could have deſired; and his diſgracing *Empſon* and *Dudley*, that had been the cruel Miniſters of his Father's Deſigns for filling his Coffers, his appointing Reſtitution to be made of the Sums that had been unjuſtly exacted of the People, and his ordering Juſtice to be done on thoſe rapacious Miniſters, gave all People Hopes of Happy Times, under a Reign that was begun with ſuch an Act of Juſtice, that had indeed more Mercy in it, than thoſe Acts of Oblivion and Pardon, with which others did uſually begin. And when Miniſters, by the King's Orders, were condemned and executed for invading the Liberties of the People under the Covert of the Kings Prerogative; it made the Nation conclude, that they ſhould hereafter live ſecure, under the Protection of ſuch a Prince, and that the violent Remedies of Parliamentary Judgments ſhould be no more neceſſary, except as in this Caſe, to confirm what had been done before in the ordinary Courts of Juſtice.

April 22. 1509

He diſgraces *Empſon* and *Dudley*.

He is very liberal.

The King alſo either from the Magnificence of his own Temper, or the Obſervation he had made of the ill Effects of his Father's Parcimony, did diſtribute his Rewards and Largeſſes with an unmeaſured

measured Bounty; so that he quickly emptied his Treasure, which his Father had left the fullest in Christendom: But till the ill Effects of this appeared, it raised in his Court and Subjects the greatest Hopes possible of a Prince, whose first Actions shewed an equal mixture of Justice and Generosity. Book I. 1800000 *l.*

His Success in the Wars.

At his first coming to the Crown, the Successes of *Lewis* the Twelfth in *Italy*, made him engage as a Party in the Wars with the Crown of *Spain*; he went in Person beyond Sea, and took both *Terwin* and *Tourney*; in which, as he acquired the Reputation of a good and fortunate Captain; so *Maximilian* the Emperor put an unusual Complement on him, for he took his Pay, and rid in his Troops. But a Peace quickly followed; upon which, the *French* King marry'd his Younger Sister *Mary*, but he dying soon after, *Francis* the first succeeded: and he renewing his Pretensions upon *Italy*, *Henry* could not be prevail'd on to engage early in the War, till the Successes of either Party should discover which of the sides was the weaker, and needed his Assistance most. 1513. 1514.

But tho' hitherto *Spain* was an unequal Match to *France*, yet all *Spain* being now united (except *Portugal*) and strengthned by the Accession of the Dominions of *Burgundy*, and enriched by the discovery of the *Indies*; and all this falling into the Hands of so great a Prince as *Charles*, afterwards the fifth Emperor of that Name; the Balance between these Kingdoms grew as equal, as the Qualities of the Princes themselves were, which engaged them in a Rivalry that made their Minds as divided, as their Interests were opposite. *Charles* being preferred to *Francis* in the Competition for the Empire,

Book I. that kindled the Animosity higher, and seem'd to encrease *Charles*'s Party, tho' the extent and distance of his Dominion was such, that one Soul (tho' his was one of the largest and most active in the World) could not animate so vast a Body. Both these Princes saw how considerable an Ally or Enemy *England* might prove, under a King so much esteem'd and beloved; so they spared no Arts that might engage him into their Interests; they gained his Ministers by their Presents, and Himself by their Complements, for it was soon found out, that Vanity was his weak side. The Emperor came in Person to *England*, without the distrustful precaution of a Pasport, and did so prevail with him, and his great Favourite Cardinal *Wolsey*, by the promise of the Popedom, that tho' an Interview followed between *Francis* and him, yet he found the Scale of *France* was then the heavier, so that upon the War, which followed between those Princes, he joyned with the Emperor.

He is courted both by *France* and *Spain*.

1520. *May.*

June.

Charles, to assure himself of Cardinal *Wolsey*, gave him hopes of the Popedom; which perhaps he did the more easily, because Pope *Leo* being so young a Man, there was no great appearance of a Vacancy: but the Pope dyed sooner than perhaps was expected; *Adrian*, that had been the Emperor's Tutor, was then chosen, and Cardinal *Wolsey* had the Promise of succeeding him: But a second Vacancy following within two Years, the Emperor broke his Word the second time; upon which the Cardinal was so offended, that he resolved to take his Revenge, so soon as a favourable Conjuncture should offer it self; and tho' he had laid the best Train he could at *Rome* for the Chair; yet upon *Clement* the Seventh's Advancement, he dissembled the matter

1521. *Decemb.*

matter ſo with him, as to proteſt, that he was the very Perſon whom he had wiſhed to ſee raiſed to that Dignity Book I.

Francis the firſt, is taken Priſoner.

The Battel of *Pavia*, in which *Francis* was taken Priſoner, and his Army defeated, turned the Scale mightily; the Pope was neareſt the danger, and felt it ſooneſt; for he projected the Clementine League, by which both He and the Republick of *Venice*, and the Princes of *Italy*, engaged in the Intereſts of *France*, and the King of *England* was declared the Protector of it. Both publick and private Intereſts wrought on the King; and his own Reſentments, as well as the Cardinals, animated him to it: for the Emperour was ſo lifted up with his Succeſs, that he began to form the Project of an Univerſal Empire, and tho' he had come to *England* in Perſon a ſecond time, and had contracted a Marriage with the King's Daughter, yet he preferred a Match with the *Infanta* of *Portugal* to it, judging it to be of more Importance to him to keep all quiet in *Spain*. *Francis* was now at liberty, but had given his Sons as Hoſtages, ſo he was ſlow in his Proceedings, tho' he was the Perſon moſt concerned in the League: The Emperor was highly diſpleas'd with the Pope, whom he look'd on as his own Creature, but it was always obſerv'd that of what Faction ſoever a Cardinal might be; yet upon the Advancement, he became the Head of his own. 1522. 1526.

The *Coloneſs* entred *Rome* with three thouſand Men, and ſack'd it, the Pope retiring to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and ſubmitting to the Conditions that were offered; but their Troops being drawn out of *Rome*, the Pope gathered his together, and fell on their Lands, and by a Creation of fourteen Cardinals for Money (which *Septemb.* 1527.

Book I. perhaps may be excuſed from Simony, becauſe they took no care of Souls) he was enabled to proſecute the War; but the Duke of *Burbon*, that upon a Diſcontent given him in *France*, had gone over to the Emperor's Service, came to *Rome*, and took it by Storm, himſelf being killed in the Aſſault; the Pope and ſeventeen Cardinals ſhut themſelves in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, but he was forced to render, and was kept Priſoner ſome Months.

May. And afterwards the Pope.

This gave great Scandal to all *Europe*; the Emperor himſelf ſeem'd aſham'd of it, for he would ſuffer no rejoycing to be in *Spain* for his Son's Birth, but appointed publick Proceſſions for the Pope's Liberty. *Wolſey* had now the beſt Opportunity he could wiſh, to declare his Zeal for the Pope's Service, and his Averſion to the Emperor; ſo he went to *France*, and made a new League, for ſetting the Pope at liberty. The Emperor prevented the Conjunction he ſaw like to follow, and having brought the Pope to his own Terms, he reſtored him again to his Freedom. And thus both the Pope and the King of *France*, that by very unuſual Accidents had been taken Priſoners, acknowledg'd that their Liberty was chiefly due to the Endeavours that King *Henry* had uſed for procuring it.

Scotland in diſorder.

When he was thus firmly united to the Intereſts of *France*, he had leſs to fear from *Scotland*, which being a perpetual Ally to *France*, gave him no Diſturbance, but as it was drawn into the War by that Court: That Kingdom was alſo for many Years under a King not of Age, and ſo was much diſtracted by Faction, and thoſe Broils at home, being the ſureſt way to keep them from making Inroads into *England*,

land, were kept up by the Money which the King ſent the *Malecontents*; therefore both the Courts of *France* and *England*, by the Penſions they gave, kept the ſeveral Parties there in pay, which Advantage that Kingdom loſt when it was joyn'd to *England*. As for Domeſtick Affairs in the Government of *England*, the King left Matters much in the Hands of his Council, in which there were two different Parties, headed by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Lord Treaſurer that was Duke of *Norfolk*: The former much complain'd of the Conſumption of the Treaſure; the other juſtify'd himſelf, that he only obeyed the King's Orders. But the Treaſurer's Party, under a bountiful King, muſt always be ſtrongeſt, both in the Court and Council. In the firſt Parliament, the Juſtice done upon *Empſon* and *Dudley*, gave ſo great Satisfaction, that all things went as the Court deſired. In the ſecond Parliament, a Brief that Pope *Julius* writ, complaining of *Lewis* the Twelfth, was firſt read in the Houſe of Lords, and then carry'd down by the Lord Chancellor, and ſome other Lords to the Houſe of Commons, and read there, upon which, Money was granted for a War with *France*. At this time, *Fox*, to ſupport his Party againſt the Lord Treaſurer, endeavoured to bring *Thomas Wolſey* into Favour; he was of mean Extraction, but had great Parts, and a wonderful Dexterity in inſinuating himſelf into Mens Favours; ſo he being brought into Buſineſs, did ſo manage the King, that he became very quickly the Maſter of his Spirit, and of all his Affairs, and for fifteen Years continued to be the moſt abſolute Favorite that had ever been ſeen in *England*. He ſaw the King was much ſet on his Pleaſures,

Book I.

Factions in the Council.

Card. Wolſey's Riſe.

Book I. ſures, and had a great Averſion to Buſineſs, and the other Counſellors being unwilling to bear the load of Affairs, were uneaſy to him, by preſſing him to govern by his own Counſels; but he knew the methods of Favourites better, and ſo was not only eaſy, but aſſiſtant to the King in his Pleaſures, and undertook to free him from the Trouble of Government, and to give him leiſure to follow his Appetites.

And Greatneſs. He was Maſter of all the Offices at home, and Treaties abroad, ſo that all Affairs went as he directed them. He it ſeems became ſoon obnoxious to Parliaments, and therefore he try'd but one during his Miniſtry, where the Supply was granted ſo ſcantily, that afterwards he choſe rather to raiſe Money by Loans and Benevolences, than by the free Gift of the People in Parliament. He became ſo ſcandalous for his ill Life, that he grew to be a Diſgrace to his Profeſſion; for he not only ſerved the King, but alſo ſhared with him in his Pleaſures, which was unhappy to him, for he was ſpoiled with Venereal Diſtempers. He was firſt made Biſhop of *Tournay* in *Flanders*, then of *Lincoln*, after that he was promoted to the See of *York*, and had both the Abby of St. *Albans*, and the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells* in *Commendam*; the laſt he afterwards exchang'd for *Dureſm*, and upon *Foxe*'s death, he quitted *Dureſm*, that he might take *Wincheſter*; and beſides all this, the King by a ſpecial Grant, gave him power to diſpoſe of all the Eccleſiaſtical Preferments in *England*; ſo that in effect he was the Pope of this other World, as was ſaid anciently of an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and no doubt but he copied skilfully enough after thoſe Patterns that were ſet him at *Rome*. Being made a Cardi-

nal,

nal, and ſetting up a Legatine Court, he found it fit for his Ambition to have the Great Seal likewiſe, that there might be no claſhing between thoſe two Juriſdictions. He had, in one word, all the Qualities neceſſary for a great Miniſter, and all the Vices ordinary in a great Favourite. Book II.

During this whole Reign, the Dukes of *Norfolk*, Father and Son, were Treaſurers, but that long and ſtrange courſe of Favour in ſo ticklish a Time, turn'd fatally upon the Son, near the end of the King's Life. But he that was the longeſt and greateſt ſharer in the King's Favour, was *Charles Brandon*, who from the Degree of a private Gentleman was advanced to the higheſt Honours. The ſtrength of his Body, and the gracefulneſs of his Perſon, contributed more to his Riſe, than his Dexterity in Affairs, or the Endowments of his Mind: For the greateſt Evidence he gave of his Underſtanding, was, that knowing he was not made for Buſineſs, he did not pretend to it; a Temper ſeldom obſerved by the Creatures of Favour. The frame and ſtrength of his Body made him a great Maſter in the Diverſions of that Age, Juſts and Tiltings, and a fit Match for the King, or rather a Second to him, who delighted mightily in them. His Perſon was ſo acceptable to the Ladies, that the King's Siſter, the Queen Dowager of *France*, liked him, and by a ſtrange ſort of making Love, prefix'd him a time for gaining her Conſent to marry him; and aſſured him, if that he did not prevail within that time, he might for ever deſpair. She marry'd him in *France*, and the King after a ſhew of ſome Diſpleaſure, was pacify'd and continued his Favours to him, not only during his Siſter's Life, but to the laſt, and in all

Charles Brandon's Advancement.

Book I. all the Revolutions of the Court that followed, in which every Minister fell by turns, he still enjoyed his share in the King's Bounty and Affection: So much happier it proved to be lov'd, than trusted by him.

The King deny'd himself none of those Pleasures, that are as much legitimated in Courts, as they are condemned elsewhere; but yet he declared no Mistriss, but *Elizabeth Blunt*, and owned no Issue, but a Son he had by her, whom he afterwards made Duke of *Richmond*. He took great care never to embroil himself with his Parliaments, and he met with no Opposition in any, except in that one, which was during Cardinal *Wolsey*'s Ministry; in which 800000 *l.* being demanded for a War with *France*, to be paid in four Years, the Debate about it rose very high, and not above the half of it was offer'd; so the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, and desired to hear the Reasons of those who were against the Supply; but he was told that it was against their Orders to speak to a Debate before any that was not of the House: He was much dis-satisfy'd at this, and cast the blame of it upon Sir *Thomas Moor*, that was Speaker; and after that, he found out other means of supplying the King without Parliaments.

The King's usage of his Parliaments.

The King had been Educated with more than ordinary Care: and Learning being then in its dawning, after a night of long and gross Ignorance, his Father had given Orders that both his elder Brother and he should be well Instructed in matters of Knowledge; not with any design to make him Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for he had made small progress, when his Brother *Arthur* dy'd, being then but Eleven Years old: Perhaps

The Kings Education.

Perhaps *Henry* the Seventh felt the Prejudices of his own Education so much, that he was more careful to have his Son better Taught; or may be he did it to amuse him, and keep him from looking too early into Matters of State. The Learning then most in Credit among the Clergy, was Scholastical Divinity, which by a shew of Subtilty, did recommend it self to curious Persons; and being very suitable to a vain and contentious Temper, was that which agreed best with his Disposition; and it being likely to draw the most Flattery from Divines, became the chief Subject of his Studies, in which he grew not only to be Eminent for a Prince, whose Knowledge tho' never so moderate, will be admired by Flatterers as a Prodigy, but he might really have pass'd for a Learned Man, had his Quality been never so mean. He delighted in the purity of the Latin Tongue, and understood Philosophy, and was so great a Master in Musick, that he composed well. He was a bountiful Patron to all Learned Men, more particularly to *Erasmus* and *Polydore Virgil*, and delighted much in those Returns which hungry Scholars use to make to liberal Princes; for he loved Flattery out of measure, and particularly to be extoll'd for his Learning and great Understanding; and he had enough of it to have surfeited a Man of any Modesty; for all the World, both at home and abroad, contended who should exceed most indecently in setting out his Praises. The Clergy carry'd it; for as he had merited most at their Hands, both by his espousing the Interests of the Papacy, and by his entring the Lists with *Luther*: So those that hop'd to be advanced by those Arts, were as little ashamed in magnifying him out of measure, as he was in receiving their gross Commendations.

Book I.

His Learning and Vacity.

The

Book I.

The manner of the promotion of Bishops.

The manner of promotion to Bishopricks and Abbies was then the same, that had taken place ever since the Investitures by the Ring and Staff were taken out of the Hands of Princes. Upon a Vacancy, the King seiz'd on all the Temporalities, and granted a Licence for an Election, with a special Recommendation of the Person; which being return'd, the Royal Assent was given, and it was sent to *Rome*, that Bulls might be expeded, and then the Bishop Elect was Consecrated: After that, he came to the King, and renounced every Clause in his Bulls that was contrary to the King's Prerogative, or to the Law, and swore Fealty; and then were the Temporalities restored. Nor could Bulls be Sued out at *Rome* without a Licence under the Great Seal; so that the Kings of *England* had reserved the Power to themselves, of promoting to Ecclesiastical Benefices, notwithstanding all the Invasions the Popes had made on the Temporal Power of Princes.

A Contest concerning the Ecclesiastical Immunity.

The Immunity of Church-men for crimes committed by them, till they were first degraded by the Spirituality, occasioned the only Contest that was in the beginning of this Reign between the Secular and Ecclesiastical Courts. King *Henry* the VII. past a Law, that Clerks convict should be burnt in the hand. A temporary Law was also made in the beginning of this Reign. That Murderers and Robbers, not being Bishops, Priests, nor Deacons, should be denied the Benefit of Clergy: but this was to last only till the next Parliament, and so being not continued by it, the

1515. Act determined. The Abbot of *Winchelcomb* preached severely against it, as being contrary to the Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Holy Church, and said, That all who assented to it, had

had faln under the Cenſures of the Church. And afterwards he publiſhed a Book, to prove that all Clerks, even of the lower Orders, were Sacred, and could not be judged by the Temporal Courts. This being done in Parliament-time, the Temporal Lords, with the Commons, addreſſed to the King, deſiring him to repreſs the Inſolence of the Clergy. So a publick Hearing was appointed before the King, and all the Judges: Dr. *Standiſh*, a Franciſcan, argued againſt the Immunity, and proved that the judging Clerks had been in all Times practiſed in *England*; and that it was neceſſary for the Peace and Safety of Mankind, that all Criminals ſhould be puniſhed. The Abbot argued on the other ſide, and ſaid, It was contrary to a Decree of the Church, and was a Sin in it ſelf. *Standiſh* anſwered, That all Decrees were not obſerved: for notwithſtanding the Decrees for Reſidence, Biſhops did not reſide at their Cathedrals. And ſince no Decree did bind till it was received, this concerning Immunity, which was never received in *England*, did not bind. After they had fully argued the Matter, the Laity were all of Opinion that the Fryer was too hard for the Abbot, and ſo moved the King that the Biſhops might be ordered to make him Preach a Recantation Sermon. But they refuſed to do it, and ſaid, They were bound by their Oaths to maintain his Opinion. *Standiſh* was upon this, much hated by the Clergy, but the Matter was let fall, yet the Clergy carry'd the Point, for the Law was not continu'd. Book I.

Not long after this, an Accident fell out, that drew great Conſequences after it. One *Richard Hun*, a Merchant in *London*, was ſued by his Pariſh-Prieſt for a Mortuary in the Legate's Court,

Book I. Court, so he was advised to sue the Priest in the temporal Court for a Præmunire, for bringing the King's Subjects before a foreign and illegal Court. This incensed the Clergy so much, that they contrived his Destruction: So hearing that he had *Wickliffs* Bible, he was upon that put in the Bishops Prison for Heresie, but being examined upon sundry Articles, he confessed some things, and submitted himself to Mercy, upon which they ought according to the Law, to have injoyned him Penance, and discharged him, this being his first Crime; but he could not be prevailed on by the terror of this, to let his Suit fall in the Temporal Court; so one Night his Neck was broken with an Iron Chain, and he was wounded in other Parts of his Body, and then knit up in his own Girdle, and it was given out that he had hang'd himself; but the Coroner's Inquest by examining the Body, and by several other Evidences, and particularly by the Confession of the Sumner, gave their Verdict, that he was murder'd by the Bishop's Chancelor, Dr. *Horsey*, and the Sumner, and the Bell-ringer. The Spiritual Court proceeded against the dead Body, and charged *Hun* with all the Heresy in *Wickcliff*'s Preface to the Bible, because that was found in his Possession; so he was Condemned as an Heretick, and upon that his Body was burnt. The Bishops of *Duresm* and *Lincoln*, and many Doctors sitting with the Bishop of *London* when he gave Judgment; so that it was looked upon as an Act of the whole Clergy: but this produced very ill Effects; for the Clergy lost the Affections of the City to such a degree, that they could never recover them: Nor did any one thing dispose them more than this did, to the entertaining

Hun imprisoned for Heresie.

Murdered.

And condemned, his Body Burnt.

ing the new Preachers, and to every thing that tended to the reproach of the Church-men, whom they esteemed no more their Pastors, but accounted them barbarous Murderers. The Rage went so high, that the Bishop of *London* complained, that he was not safe in his own House, and there were many Hearings before the Council; for the Cardinal did all he could to stop the progress of the Matter, but in vain: For the Bishop's Chancellor and the Sumner, were Indicted as Principals in the Murder. In Parliament an Act passed restoring *Hun*'s Children, but the Commons sent up a Bill concerning his Murder, yet that was laid aside by the Lords where the Clergy were the Majority. The Clergy looked on the Opposition that *Standish* had made in the Point of their Immunities, as that which gave the Rise to *Hun*'s first Suit; so the Convocation cited him to answer for his Carriage in that Matter: but he claim'd the King's Protection, since he had done nothing but only Pleaded in the King's Name. The Clergy pretended they did not prosecute him for his Pleading, but for some of his Divinity Lectures, contrary to the Liberty of the Church, which the King was bound to maintain by his Coronation-Oath: but the Temporal Lords, the Judges, and the Commons, prayed the King also to maintain the Laws according to his Coronation-Oath, and to give *Standish* his Protection. The King upon this being in great perplexity, required *Veysy*, afterwards Bishop of *Exeter*, to declare upon his *Conscience* and *Allegiance* the truth in that matter. His Opinion was against the Immunity; so another publick Hearing being appointed, *Standish* was accused for teaching, *That the Inferiour Orders were not Sacred*; *That*

Book I.

Further Disputes about Immunity.

Book I. *That their Exemption was not founded on a Divine Right, but that the Laity might punish them; That the Canons of the Church did not bind till they were received; and that the study of the Canon Law was useless.* Of these he deny'd some, and justify'd other particulars. *Veysey* being required to give his Opinion, alledg'd, That the Laws of the Church did only oblige where they were received: As the Law of the Celibate of the Clergy, received in the West, did not bind the Greek Churches, that never received it: So the Exemption of the Clerks not being received, did not bind in *England*. The Judges gave their Opinion next, which was, That those who prosecuted *Standish* were all in a *Præmunire*. So the Court broke up. But in another Hearing, in the presence of the greatest part of both Houses of Parliament, the Cardinal said in the Name of the Clergy, That tho' they intended to do nothing against the King's Prerogative; yet the Trying of Clerks seemed to be contrary to the Liberty of the Church, which they were bound by their Oaths to maintain. So they prayed that the Matter might be referred to the Pope.

The King answered that he thought *Standish* had answered them fully: The Bishop of *Winchester* said, he would not stand to his Opinion at his Peril. *Standish* upon that said, What can one poor Friar do against all the Clergy of *England*? The Archbishop of *Canterbury* said, Some of the Fathers of the Church had suffered Martyrdom upon that account; but the Chief-Justice replied, That many holy Kings had maintained that Law, and many holy Bishops had obeyed it. In conclusion, the King declared, That he would maintain his Rights, and would not submit

ſubmit them to the Decrees of the Church, otherwiſe than as his Anceſtors had done. *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* deſired ſo long time might be given, that they might have an Anſwer returned from *Rome*, but that was not granted: yet a Temper was found. *Horſey* was appointed to be brought to his Trial for *Hun*'s Murder, and upon his pleading not guilty, no Evidence was to be brought, and ſo he was to be diſcharged. But upon this it was ſaid, The Judges were more concerned to maintain their Juriſdiction, than to do Juſtice upon ſo horrid a Murder; ſo the diſcontent given by it was raiſed ſo much higher, and the Crime of a few Murderers, was now transferred upon the whole Clergy, who had concerned themſelves ſo much in their Preſervation; and this did very much diſpoſe the Laity to all that was done afterwards, for pulling down the Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny.

This was the only uneaſy Step in this King's Reign, till the Suit for his Divorce was Commenced. In all other Points he was conſtantly in the Pope's Intereſts, who ſent him the common Complements of Roſes, and ſuch other Trifles, by which that See had treated Princes ſo long, as Children. The King made the Defence of the Popedom an Article in his Leagues with other Princes, and Pope *Julius* having call'd a General Council to the *Lateran*, in oppoſition to that which by *Lewis* the Twelfth's means was held at *Piſa*: The King ſent the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Rocheſter*, the Prior of St. *John*'s and the Abbot of *Winchelcomb*, to repreſent the Church of *England*, thereby to give the greater Authority to a pack'd meeting of *Italian* Biſhops and Abbots, who aſſumed to themſelves the Title of a *Holy and Oecumenical Council*. But

The King is much addicted to the Papacy.

Book I. no Complement wrought ſo much on the King's Vanity, as the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, ſent him by Pope *Leo*, upon the Book which he writ againſt *Luther* concerning the Sacraments.

Cardinal *Wolſey* intends to reform the Clergy.

The Cardinal drew upon himſelf the hatred of the Clergy, by a Bull which impowered him to Viſit all the Monaſteries of *England*; and to Diſpence with all the Laws of the Church for a Year. He alſo gave out, that he intended to Reform the Clergy, though he forgot that which ought to be the firſt Step of all thoſe who pretend to Reform others; for none could be worſe than himſelf was. He lived in great Luxury, and in an inſolent Affectation of the higheſt State poſſible; many of his Domeſticks being Men of the firſt Rank. He intended to ſuppreſs many Monaſteries, and thought the beſt way for doing it with the leaſt Scandal, was firſt to Viſit them, and ſo to expoſe their Corruptions: But he was afterwards diverted from this; yet the Deſign which he laid, being communicated to *Cromwel*, that was then his Secretary, it was put in practice toward the end of this Reign, when the Monaſteries were all ſuppreſſed.

The ſummoning of Convocations.

The Convocations were of two ſorts; ſome were Summon'd by the King, when Parliaments were call'd, as is in uſe to this Day; only the King did not then prefix a Day, but left that to the Arch-Biſhops. Others were call'd by the Arch-Biſhops, and were Provincial Synods, of which there were but few. The Cardinal pretended, that the Summoning all Convocations belong'd to him, as *Legate*; ſo that when *Warham* had call'd one, he diſſolv'd it after it was
1522. met, and Summon'd it of new. In that Convocation,

vocation, a great Supply was granted to the King, of half a Year's Rent of all Benefices, payable in five Years, for aſſiſting him in his Wars with *France* and *Scotland*. This was much oppoſed by the Cardinal's Enemies, but it was agreed to at laſt, a *Proviſo* being made, that ſuch a heavy Tax ſhould never be made a Precedent for the future; tho' the Grant they made, was more likely to become a Precedent, than this *Proviſo* to be a Security for the time to come. Book I.

This increaſed the Averſion the Clergy had to the Cardinal: The Monks were more particularly incens'd; for they ſaw he was reſolved to ſuppreſs their Foundations, and convert them to other uſes.

The State of the Monaſteries.

In the Days of King *Edgar*, moſt of the Cathedrals of *England* were poſſeſſed by Secular Prieſts, who were generally marry'd; but *Dunſtan* and ſome other Monks took advantage from the Vices of that Prince, to perſuade him to make Compenſation for them; and as he made Laws, in which he declared what Compenſations were to be made for Sins, both by the Rich and Poor; ſo, it ſeems, he thought the Founding of Monaſteries was the fitteſt Compenſation for a King; and he turn'd out all the married Prieſts, and put Monks in their ſtead. From that time the Credit and Wealth of Monaſtick Orders continu'd to increaſe for ſeveral Ages, till the Begging Orders ſucceeded in the eſteem of the World, to the place which the Monks formerly had; for they decreas'd as much in true worth, as the falſe appearances of it had now rais'd their Revenues. They were not only ignorant themſelves, but very jealous of the progreſs Learning was making: For *Eraſ-*

Book I. *mus*, and the other Restorers of it, treating them with much scorn, they look'd on the encrease of it, as that which would much lessen them; and so not only did not contribute to it, but rather detracted from it, as that which would make way for Heresy.

Card. *Wolsey* suppresses many.

The Cardinal designed two noble Foundations, the one at *Oxford*, and the other at *Ipswich*, the place of his Birth, both for the encouragement of the Learned, and the instruction of Youth; and for that end he procured a Bull for suppressing divers Monasteries, which being executed, their Lands by Law fell to the King; and thereupon the Cardinal took out Grants of them, and endowed his Colledges with them.

The growth of *Wickliff*'s Doctrine.

But we shall next consider the state of Religion in *England*. From the days of *Wickliff* there were many that differed from the Doctrines commonly received. He writ many Books that gave great Offence to the Clergy, yet being powerfully supported by the Duke of *Lancaster*, they could not have their revenge during his Life; but he was after his Death condemned, and his Body was raised and burnt. The Bible which he translated into *English*, with the Preface which he set before it, produced the greatest effects. In it he reflected on the ill Lives of the Clergy, and condemned the Worship of Saints and Images, and the corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; but the most criminal part was, the exhorting all People to read the Scriptures; where the Testimonies against those Corruptions were such, that there was no way to deal with them but to silence them. His Followers were not Men of Letters, but being wrought on by the easy Conviction of plain Sense, were by them determined in their Persuasions. They did not

not form themſelves into a Body, but were contented to hold their Opinions ſecretly, and did not ſpread them, but to their particular Confidents. The Clergy ſought them out every where, and did deliver them after Conviction to the Secular Arm, that is, to the *Fire*. Book I.

The Cruelty of the Clergy.

In the Primitive Church, all cruel Proceedings upon the account of Hereſy, were condemned; ſo that the Biſhops who accuſed ſome Hereticks, upon which they were put to Death, were Excommunicated for it. Baniſhment and Fines, with ſome Incapacities, were the higheſt Severities, even upon the greateſt Provocations. But as the Church grew corrupted in other things, ſo a Cruel Spirit being generally the Mark of all ill Prieſts, of whatſoever Religion they are, they fell under the Influences of it; and from the Days of the riſe of the *Albigenſes*, the Severities of the Inquiſition, and Burnings, with many other Cruelties, were by the means of the *Dominicans* ſet up, firſt in *France*, and then in the other parts of *Europe*. A Decree was alſo made in the Council of the *Lateran*, requiring all Magiſtrates under the pains of Forfeiture and Depoſition, to extirpate Hereticks. Burning agreed beſt with their Cruelty, as being the moſt terrible ſort of Death, and bearing ſome reſemblance to everlaſting Burnings in Hell; ſo they damned the Souls of the Hereticks, and burnt their Bodies; but the Execution of the former part of the Sentence was not in their power, as the latter part was. The Canons of that Council being received in *England*, the Proceedings againſt Hereticks grew to be a part of the Common Law, and a Writ for burning them was iſſued out upon their Conviction. But ſpecial Statutes were afterwards made: The firſt

Book I. under *Richard* the Second, was only agreed to by the Lords; and without its being consented to by the Commons, the King assented to it; yet all the Severity in it was no more, than that Writs should go out to the Sheriffs to hold Hereticks in Prison, till they should be judged by the Laws of the Church. The Preamble of the Law says, "They were very numerous, that "they had a peculiar Habit, that they Preach'd "in many Churches, and other Places, against "the Faith, and refused to submit to the Cen-"sures of the Church. This was sent with the other Acts according to the Custom of that Time, to all the Sheriffs of *England* to be proclaim'd by them; but the Year following in the next Parliament, the Commons complain'd that that Act was published, to which they had never consented; so an Act passed declaring the former null; yet this was suppress'd, and the former was still esteem'd a good Law.

Laws made in *England* against Hereticks.

When *Henry* the Fourth came to the Crown, he owing it in great measure to the help of the Clergy, passed an Act against all that Preach'd without the Bishop's Licence, or against the Faith; and it was Enacted, That all Transgressors of that sort, should be Imprisoned, and within three Months be brought to a Tryal: If upon Conviction they offer'd to Abjure, and were not Relapses, they were to be Imprisoned and Fined at pleasure: and if they refus'd to Abjure, or were Relapses, they were to be deliver'd to the Secular Arm, and the Magistrates were to burn them in some publick place. But tho' by this Statute no mention is made of sending out a Writ for Execution; yet that continu'd still to be practised: and that same Year *Sautre*, a Priest being condemned as a Relapse, and degraded

graded by *Arundell*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Book I.
a Writ was Iſſued out for it, in which, *Burning* is called the *Common Puniſhment*, which related to the Cuſtoms of other Nations: For this was the firſt Inſtance of that kind in *England*. In the beginning of *Henry* the Fifth's Reign, there was a Conſpiracy againſt the King diſcovered, (tho' others that lived not long after, ſay it was only pretended and contrived by the Clergy) of *Old-Caſtle* and ſome other of *Wickcliff*'s Followers then call'd *Lollards*; upon which many were condemned both for Treaſon and Hereſy, who were firſt hanged and then burnt; and a Law follow'd, that the *Lollards* ſhould forfeit all that they held in Fee ſimple, as well as their Goods and Chattels to the King, and all Sheriffs and Magiſtrates were required to take an Oath, to deſtroy all Hereſies and *Lollardies*, and to aſſiſt the Ordinaries in their Proceedings againſt them. Yet the Clergy making ill uſe of theſe Laws, and vexing all People that gave them any Offence, with long Impriſonments; the Judges interpoſed and examined the Grounds of their Commitments, and as they ſaw cauſe, Bailed, or Diſcharged the Priſoners; and took upon them to declare, what Opinions were Hereſies by Law, and what were not. Thus the People ſought for Shelter, under their Protection, and found more Mercy at the hands of Common Lawyers, than from them who ought to have been the Paſtors of their Souls, and the Publiſhers of the moſt Merciful Religion that ever was.

The Proſecution of *Lollards* before *Warham*.

In the beginning of this Reign, there were ſeveral Perſons brought into the Biſhops Courts for Hereſy, before *Warham*. Forty eight were accuſed: But of theſe, forty three Abjured, twenty ſeven Men, and ſixteen Women, moſt of

Book I. them being of *Tenterden*; and five of them, four Men, and one Woman, were condemn'd; some as obstinate Hereticks, and others as Relapses: And against the common Ties of Nature, the Woman's Husband, and her two Sons, were brought witnesses against her. Upon their Conviction, a Certificate was made by the Arch-bishop to the Chancery: Upon which, since there is no Pardon upon Record, the Writs for Burning them must have gone out in course, and the Execution of them is little to be doubted; for the Clergy were seldom guilty of much Mercy in such Cases, having divested themselves of all Bowels, as the Dregs of unmortify'd Nature. The Articles objected to them were, That they believ'd that in the *Eucharist*, there was nothing but material Bread; That the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, Confession, Matrimony, and extream Unction, were neither necessary, nor profitable; That Priests had no more Power than Laymen; That Pilgrimages were not meritorious, and that the Money and Labour spent in them, were spent in vain; That Images ought not to be Worshipped, and that they were only Stocks and Stones; That Prayers ought not to be made to Saints, but only to God; That there was no Virtue in Holy-water, or Holy-bread. Those who Abjured, did Swear to discover them all held those Errors, or were suspected of them; and they were enjoyn'd to carry a Faggot in Procession, and to wear on their Cloaths the Representation of one in Flames, as a publick Confession that they had deserv'd to be burnt. There were also Four in *London* that Abjured almost the same Opinions, and *Fox* says, that six were burnt in *Smithfield*, who might be perhaps those whom *Warham* had condemn'd; for there is no mention

mention of any that were condemned, in the Registers of *London*. By all this it will appear, that many in this Nation were prepared to receive those Doctrines, which were afterwards Preach'd by the Reformation, even before *Luther* began first to oppose Indulgences.

The Rise and Progress of his Doctrine are well known; the Scandalous extolling of Indulgences gave the first occasion to all that Contradiction that follow'd between him and his Followers and the Church of *Rome*; in which, if the Corruptions and Cruelties of the Clergy had not been so visible and scandalous, so small a matter could not have produced such a Revolution; but any Crisis will put ill Humours in Fermentation. The progress of *Luther*'s Doctrine.

The Bishops were grosly ignorant; they seldom resided in their Dioceses, except it had been to Riot it at high Festivals; and all the Effect their Residence could have, was to corrupt others, by their ill Example. They follow'd the Court of Princes, and aspired to the greatest Offices. The Abbots and Monks were wholly given up to Luxury and Idleness; and the unmarry'd State, both of the Seculars and Regulars, gave infinite Scandal to the World; for it appear'd, that the restraining them from having Wives of their own, made them conclude that they had a right to all other Mens. The Inferiour Clergy were no better; and not having places of retreat to conceal their Vices in, as the Monks had, they became more publick. In sum, all Ranks of Churchmen were so universally despised, and hated, that the World was very apt to be possess'd with prejudice against their Doctrines, for the sake of the Men, whose Interest it was to support them: And the Worship of God was so defiled with

Book I. with much groſs Superſtition, that without great enquiries, all Men were eaſily convinced, that the Church ſtood in great need of a Reformation. This was much increas'd when the Books of the Fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and latter Ages of the Church, did very evidently appear. They found that a blind Superſtition came firſt in the room of true Piety; and when by its means the Wealth and Intereſt of the Clergy was highly advanced; the Popes had upon that eſtabliſh'd their Tyranny; under which, not only the meaner People, but even the crowned Heads, had long groan'd. All theſe things concurred to make way for the Advancement of the Reformation: And ſo the Books of the *Germans* being brought into *England*, and Tranſlated, many were prevailed on by them. Upon this, a hot Perſecution, which is always the Foundation on which a Vicious Clergy ſet up their Reſt, was vigorouſly ſet on foot, to ſuch a Degree, that Six Men and Women were burnt in *Coventry* in Paſſion week, only for teaching their Children, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh. Great Numbers were every where brought into the Biſhop's Courts; of whom ſome were burnt, but the greater part Abjured.

The King laid hold on this Occaſion, to become the Church's Champion, and wrote againſt *Luther*, as was formerly told. His Book, beſides the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, drew upon him all that Flattery could invent to extol it; yet *Luther* not daunted with ſuch an Antagoniſt, but rather proud of it, anſwered it, and treated him as much below the Reſpect that was due to a King, as his Flatterers had raiſed him above it. *Tindal*'s Tranſlation of the New Teſtament with

ſome

ſome Notes added to it, drew a ſevere Condem- Book I.
nation from the Clergy, there being nothing in
which they were more concern'd, than to keep
the People unacquainted with that Book. Sir
Thomas More ſeconded the King, and imploy'd
his Pen in the Service of the Clergy, but mix'd
too much Gall with his Ink. The Cardinal's
Behaviour in this matter was unaccountable; for
he not only acted nothing againſt the new Preach-
ers; but when ſome Biſhops moved for a Viſita-
tion of the Univerſities, upon a report of the
ſpreading of Hereſy in them, he ſtop'd it; yet
afterwards he call'd a Meeting of ſeveral Bi-
ſhops, Abbots and Divines, before whom, two
Preachers, *Bilney* and *Arthur*, were brought, and
Articles of Hereſy being objected to them, and
proved by Witneſſes, they for a while ſeem'd
reſolv'd to ſeal their Doctrines with their Blood;
but what through Fear, what through Perſwaſi-
on, they were prevail'd on (firſt *Arthur*, and
Bilney five Days after) to Abjure; but tho' *Bil-
ney* was a Relapſe, yet the Cardinal was gentle
to him, and *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London* enjoyn'd
him Penance, and diſcharg'd him. So much may
ſuffice to ſhew the Condition of Affairs in *Eng-
land* both in Church and State, when the Proceſs
of the King's Divorce was firſt ſet on foot.

Henry the Seventh entred into a firm Alliance The King's Marriage.
with *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, and agreed a Match
between his Son Prince *Arthur*, and *Katherine*
the *Infanta* of *Spain*. She came into *England*
and was Marry'd in *November*; but on the ſe-
cond of *April* after, the Prince dy'd. They were 1502.
not only bedded in Ceremony the Night of the
Marriage, but continu'd ſtill to lodge together;
and the Prince by ſome indecent Railery gave oc-
caſion to believe that the Marriage was conſum-
mated

Book I. mated, which was so little doubted, that some imputed his too early end, to his excess in it. After his Death, his younger Brother was not Created Prince of *Wales*, till Ten Months had past, it being then apparent that the Princess was not with Child by the late Prince; Women were also set about her to wait on her with the Precaution that is necessary in such a Case; so that it was generally believed that she was no Virgin when the Prince dy'd.

Henry the Seventh being unwilling to restore so great a Portion as two hundred thousand Duckets, propos'd a second Match for her with his Younger Son *Henry*. *Warhum* did then object against the Lawfulness of it; yet *Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, was for it, and the Opinion of the Pope's Authority was then so well establish'd, that it was thought a Dispensation from *Rome* was sufficient to remove all Objections; so one was obtain'd, grounded upon a desire of the two young Persons to Marry together for preserving Peace between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, by which the Pope dispensed with it, notwithstanding the Princess Marriage to Prince *Arthur*, which was (as is said in the Bull) perhaps consummated.

Decemb. 1503.

The Pope was then in War with *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, and so would refuse nothing to the King of *England*, being perhaps not unwilling that Princes should contract such Marriages, by which the Legitimation of their Issue depending on the Pope's Dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in Interest to support that Authority. Upon this, a Marriage follow'd; the Prince being yet under Age; but the same Day in which he came to be of Age, he did by

1505.

his

his Father's Orders, make a proteſtation that he retracted and annulled his Marriage. Book I.

Henry the Seventh at his Death, charged him to break it off intirely, being perhaps apprehenſive of ſuch a return of Confuſion upon a controverted Succeſſion to the Crown, as had been during the Wars of the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, but upon his Death, *Henry* the Eighth being then Eighteen Years of Age, marry'd her: She bore him two Sons, who dy'd ſoon after they were born: and a Daughter *Mary*, who liv'd to Reign after him; but after that, the Queen contracted ſome Diſeaſes that made her unacceptable to the King; ſo all hope of any other Iſſue failing, ſeveral Matches were propoſed for his Daughter; the firſt was with the *Dauphin*; then ſhe was contracted with the Emperor; and after that, a Propoſition was made for the King of *Scotland*; and laſt of all, a Treaty was made with *Francis* the Firſt, either for himſelf, he being then a Widower, or for his ſecond Son, the Duke of *Orleans*, to be determin'd at his Option; upon which the Biſhop of *Tarbe* was ſent over Ambaſſador to conclude it: He made an Exception that the Marriage was doubtful, and the Lady not legitimate; which had been likewiſe made by the Cortes of *Spain*, by whoſe Advice the Emperour broke the Contract upon that very account; ſo that other Princes moving Scruples againſt a Marriage with his Daughter, the Heir of ſo great a Crown, the King began to make ſome himſelf, or rather to publiſh them, for he ſaid afterwards he had them ſome Years before.

1516. Matches propoſed for his Daughter

Yet the Cardinal's hatred to the Emperour, was look'd on as one of the ſecret Springs of the King's Averſion to his Aunt, which the King vindicating

Book I. vindicating him in publick, afterwards, did not remove: That being consider'd only as a Court Contrivance.

The King has some scruples concerning his Marriage.

The King seem'd to lay the greatest weight on the Prohibition in the Levitical Law of marrying the Brother's Wife, and he being conversant in *Thomas Aquinas*'s Writings, found that he and the other Schoolmen look'd on those Laws as Moral, and for ever binding, and that by consequence the Pope's Dispensation was of no force, since his Authority went not so far as to dispence with the Laws of God. All the Bishops of *England*, *Fisher* of *Rochester* only excepted, declar'd under their Hands and Seals, that they judged the Marriage unlawful. The ill Consequences of Wars that might follow upon a doubtful Title to the Crown, were also much consider'd, or at least pretended. It is not probable that the engagement of the King's Affections to any other gave the rise to all this; for so prying a Courtier as *Wolsey* was, would have discovered it, and not have projected a Marriage with *Francis*'s Sister, if he had seen the King prepossessed: It is more probable, that the King conceiving himself at the point of being discharg'd of his former Marriage, gave a free scope to his Affections, which upon that came to settle on *Anne Bolleyn*. The King had reason enough to expect a quick and favourable dispatch of his business at *Rome*, where Dispensations or Divorces in favour of Princes used to pass, rather with regard to the Merits of the Prince that desired them, than of the Cause it self. His Alliance seem'd then necessary to the Pope, who was at that time in Captivity. Nor could the Emperour with any good colour oppose his Suit, since he had broken his Contract with his Daughter upon the

the account of the doubtfulneſs of the Mar- Book I.
riage.

The Cardinal had alſo given him full Aſſurances of a good Anſwer from *Rome*; whether upon the knowledge he had of that Court, and of the Pope's Temper, or upon any Promiſe made him, is not certain. The Reaſons gather'd by the Canoniſts for annulling the Bull of Diſpenſation, upon which the Divorce was to follow in courſe, were grounded upon ſome falſe ſuggeſtions in the Bull, and upon the Proteſtation which the King had made when he came to be of Age. In a word, they were ſuch, that a favourable Pope left to himſelf, would have yielded to them without any ſcruple.

Anne Boleyn was born in the Year 1507, and went to *France* at Seven Years of Age, and return'd Twelve Years after to *England*. She was much admired in both Courts, and continu'd to live without any Blemiſh till her unfortunate Fall gave occaſion to ſome malicious Writers to defame her in all the parts of her Life: She was more beautiful than graceful, and more chearful than diſcreet. She wanted none of the Charms of Wit or Perſon, and muſt have had extraordinary Attractives, ſince ſhe could ſo long manage ſuch a King's Affection, in which her being with Child ſoon after the Marriage, ſhews that in the whole courſe of Seven Years ſhe kept him at a due diſtance. Upon her coming to *England*, the Lord *Peircy* being then a Domeſtick of the Cardinal's, made love to her, and went ſo far as to engage himſelf ſome way to marry her, and that being entertain'd by her, ſhews ſhe had then no aſpirings to the Crown. But the Cardinal having underſtood ſomewhat of the King's ſecret Intentions, did ſo threaten him, that he made him,

Book I. him, tho' not without great difficulty, break off his Addreſſes to her.

1527. And applies to the Pope. *Knight*, then Secretary of State, was ſent to *Rome* to prepare the Pope in the matter; and the Family of the *Caſſali* having much of the Pope's Favour, they were likewiſe imploy'd to promote it. To *Gregory Caſſali* did the Cardinal ſend a large Diſpatch, ſetting forth all the Reaſons both in Conſcience and Policy, for obtaining a Commiſſion to himſelf to judge the Affair. Great Promiſes were made in the King's Name, both for publick and private Services, and nothing was forgot that was likely to work either on the Pope, or thoſe Cardinals that had the greateſt Credit about him. *Knight* made application to the Pope in the ſecreteſt manner he could, and had a very favourable Anſwer; for the Pope promiſed frankly to diſſolve the Marriage: But another Promiſe being exacted of him in the Emperour's Name, not to proceed in that Affair, he was reduced to great ſtraits; not ſo much out of regard to his Promiſes, (for he had ſo engaged himſelf, that it was unavoidable for him to break one) as to his Intereſts; he was then at the Emperour's mercy, ſo he was in fear of offending him; yet he both hated him, and was diſtruſtful of him, and had no mind to loſe the King of *England*; therefore he ſtudy'd to gain time, and promiſed that if the King would have a little patience, he ſhould not only have that which he asked, but every thing that was in his Power to grant.

1528. Who was very favourable. The Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* made ſome Scruples concerning the Bull that was demanded, till he had raiſed his price, and got a great Preſent, and then the Pope ſigned both a Commiſſion for *Wolſey* to try the Cauſe, and judge

in

in it, and also a Dispensation, and put them in *Knights* Hands; but with Tears prayed him that there might be no proceedings upon them, till the Emperour were put out of a capacity of executing his Revenge upon him, and whenever that was done he would own this act of Justice which he did in the King's favour. For tho' the Pope on publick Occasions used to talk in the Language of one that pretended to be St. *Peter*'s Successor; yet in private Treaties he minded nothing but his own Security, and the Interests of his Family. And being a very crafty Man, he proposed an Expedient, which if the King had followed, it had put a quicker and easier end to the Process. He found his sending Bulls, or a Legate to *England*, would become publick, and draw the Emperour upon him, and must admit of delays and be full of danger; therefore he proposed, if the King was satisfy'd in his own Conscience, in which he believed no Doctor could resolve him better than himself, then he might without more noise make Judgment be given in *England*; and upon that marry another Wife, and send over to *Rome* for a Confirmation; which would be the more easily granted, if the thing were once done. This the Pope desired might be represented to the King as the Advice of the Cardinals, and not as his own. But the King's Counsellors thought this more dangerous than the way of a Process; for if upon the King's second Marriage, a Confirmation should be denyed, then the Right of Succession by it, would be still very doubtful, so they would not venture on it. Book I.

The Pope was at this time distasted with Cardinal *Wolsey*; for he understood, that during his Captivity, he had been in an Intrigue, to get

Book I. 1528. himself chosen Vicar of the Papacy, and was to have sate at *Avignion*, which might have produced a new Schism. *Staphileus*, Dean of the *Rota*, being then in *England*, was wrought on by the promise of a Bishoprick, and a Recommendation to a Cardinal's Hat, to promote the King's Affair; and by him the Cardinal wrote to the Pope, in a most earnest strain, for a dispatch in this business; and he desired, that an indifferent and *tractable* Cardinal might be sent over, with a full Commission to joyn with him, and to judge the Matter; proposing to the King's Ambassadors, *Campegio* as the fittest Man; when a Legate should be named, he ordered Presents to be made him, and that they would hasten his dispatch, and take care that the Commission should be full. But upon the arrival of the Couriers, that were sent from *Rome*, *Gardiner*, the Cardinal's Secretary, and *Fox*, the King's Almoner, the one a Canonist, and the other a Divine, were sent thither with Letters, both from the King and Cardinal, to the Pope, and they carried Orders (that were like to be more effectual than any Arguments they could offer) to make great Presents to the Cardinals. They carried with them the Draught of a Bull, containing all the Clauses could be invented, to make the Matter sure; one Clause was to declare the Issue of the Marriage good, as being begotten *bona fide*, which was perhaps put in to make the Queen more easy, since by that it appeared, that her Daughter should not suffer, which way soever the Matter went.

The Cardinal in his Letters to *Cassali*, offered to take the blame on his own Soul, if the Pope would grant this Bull; and with an Earnestness, as hearty and warm, as can be expressed in Words,

Words, he preſſed the thing, and added, That he perceived, that if the Pope continu'd inexorable, the King would proceed another way. Book I. 1528.

Theſe Treaties had ſuch Effects, that *Campegio* was declared Legate, and ordered to go for *England*, and joyn in Commiſſion with *Wolſey* for judging this Matter. *Campegio* was Biſhop of *Salisbury*; and having a Son whom he intended to advance, was no doubt a tractable Man; but to raiſe his price the higher, he moved many Scruples, and ſeemed to enter upon this Employment with great fear and averſion. *Wolſey*, who knew his Temper, preſt him vehemently to make all the haſte he could, and gave him the Aſſurance of great Rewards from the King: For whatever was to be made uſe of publickly for Forms ſake, theſe were the effectual Arguments that were moſt likely to convince a Man of his Temper: In which *Wolſey* was ſo ſincere, that in a Letter he wrote to him, that of a good Conſcience, being put among other Motives to perſwade him, in the firſt Draught, the Cardinal ſtruck it out, as knowing how little it would ſignify. *Campegio* ſet out from *Rome*, and carried with him a Decretal Bull, for annulling the Marriage, which was truſted to him, and he was authoriz'd to ſhew it to the King and *Wolſey*; but was required not to give it out of his Hands to either of them. At this time *Wolſey* was taken with the Sweating-Sickneſs, which then raged in *England*; and by a Complement which both the King and *Anne Boleyn* writ him, on the ſame piece of Paper, it appears he was then privy to the King's Deſign of marrying her, and intending to advance himſelf yet higher, by his merits, in procuring her the Crown.

Campegio ſent over Legate.

Book I. 1528. This Year he ſettled his two great Colledges; and finding both the King and People much pleaſed with his converting ſome Monaſteries to ſuch uſes, he intended to ſuppreſs more, and to convert them to Biſhopricks, and Cathedral Churches, which the Pope was not willing to grant, the Religious Orders making great Oppoſition to it; but *Gardiner* told him, *it was neceſſary, and muſt be done*; ſo a power for doing it, was added to the Legates Commiſſion.

At this time, the Queen engaged the Emperor to eſpouſe her Intereſts, which he did the more willingly, becauſe the King was then in the Intereſts of *France*; and to help her Buſineſs, a Breve was either found, or forged, (the laſt is more probable) of the ſame date with the Bull, that Diſpenſed with her Marriage: But with ſtronger Clauſes in it, to anſwer thoſe Objections that were made againſt ſome defects in the Bull, tho' it did not ſeem probable, that in the ſame Day, a Bull and a Breve would have been granted for the ſame thing, in ſuch different ſtrains. The moſt conſiderable Variation was, That whereas the Bull did only ſuppoſe, that the Queen's Marriage with Prince *Arthur*, was *perhaps* Conſummated; the Breve did ſuppoſe it abſolutely, without a *perhaps*. This was thought to prejudice the Queen's Cauſe as much, as the Suſpicion of the Forgery did blemiſh her Agents.

Campegio comes into England. In *October*, *Campegio* came into *England*; and after the firſt Complements were over, he firſt adviſed the King to give over the Proſecution of his Suit; and then counſelled the Queen in the Pope's Name, to enter into a Religious Life, and make Vows; but both were in vain; and he by affecting an Impartiality, almoſt loſt both

ſides.

sides. But he in great measure pacifyed the King, when he shewed the King the Bull he had brought over for annulling the Marriage; yet he would not part with it out of his Hands, neither to the King, nor the Cardinal; upon which, great Instances were made at *Rome*, that *Campegio* might be order'd to shew it to some of the King's Counsellors, and to go on and end the business, otherwise *Wolsey* would be ruin'd, and *England* lost: Yet all this did not prevail on the crafty Pope, who knew it was intended once to have the Bull out of *Campegio*'s Hands, and then the King would leave him to the Emperour's Indignation: But tho' he positively refused to grant that, yet he said, he left the Legates in *England* free to judge as they saw Cause, and promised that he would confirm their Sentence. Book I. 1528.

The Imperialists at *Rome* pressed him hard, to inhibit the Legates, and to recal the Cause that it might be Heard before the Consistory. The Pope declined this Motion; and to mollify the King, he sent *Campana*, one of his Bed-Chamber, over to *England*, with Complements too high to gain much Credit: He assured the King, that the Pope would do for him all he could, not only in *Justice* and *Equity*, but in the *fulness of his Power*: And that tho' he had reason to be very apprehensive of the Emperour's Resentments, yet that did not divert him from his Zeal for the King's Service; for if his resigning the Popedom would advance it, it should not stick at that. He also was ordered to require the Legates, to put a speedy end to the business; but his secret Instructions to *Campegio* were of another strain; he charged him to burn the Bull, and to draw out the matter by all the delays he could invent. Sir *Francis Brian*, and *Peter Vannes*, were dispatched

Campana sent to deceive the King.

Book I. to *Rome*, with new Propoſitions, to try, whether if both the King and Queen took Religious
1528. Vows, ſo that their Marriage were upon that annulled, the Pope would engage to diſpence with the King's Vow, or grant him a Licence for having two Wives. *Wolſey* alſo offer'd in the King's Name, to ſettle a Pay for 2000 Men, that ſhould be a Guard to the Pope, and to procure a Reſtitution of ſome of his Towns, on which the *Venetians* had ſeized. But the Pope did not care to have his Guards payed by other Princes; which he looked on as a putting himſelf in their Hands. He was in fear of every thing that might bring a new Calamity upon him; and was now reſolved to unite himſelf firmly with the Emperour, by whoſe means only, he hoped to re-eſtabliſh his Family at *Florence*; and ever after this, all the uſe he made of the King's earneſtneſs in his Divorce, was only, to draw in the Emperour to his Intereſts, on the better Terms. The Emperour alſo was then preſſing him hard, for a General Council; of which, beſides the averſion that the Court of *Rome* had to it, he had particular reaſon to be afraid; for being a Baſtard, he was threatned with Depoſition as uncapable, by the Canons of the Church, to hold ſuch a Dignity. The Pope propoſed a Journey *incognito*, to *Spain*, and deſired *Wolſey* to go with him, for obtaining a General Peace. But in ſecret, he was making up with the Emperour, and gave his Agents Aſſurances, that tho' the Legates gave Sentence he would not confirm it. So the King's Correſpondents at *Rome*, wrote to him, to ſet on the War more vigorouſly againſt the Emperour, for he could expect nothing at *Rome*, unleſs the Emperour's Affairs declined.

The Pope reſolv'd to unite with the Emperour.

1529. The Pope went on cajoling thoſe the King ſent over

over, and gave new Aſſurances, that tho' he would not grant a Bull, by which the Divorce ſhould be immediately his own Act; yet he would confirm the Legates Sentence; ſo he reſolved to caſt the Load wholly upon them: He ſaid, if he did it himſelf, a Council would be called by the Emperour's means, in which, his Bull would be annulled, and himſelf depoſed, which would bring on a new Confuſion; and that, conſidering the footing Hereſy had got, would ruin the Church. The Pope inclined more to the Diſſolving the Marriage, by the Queen's taking Vows, as that which could be beſt defended; but the Cardinal gave him notice, that the Queen would never be brought to that, unleſs her Nephews adviſed it. Book I. 1529.

At this time the Pope was taken ſuddenly ill, and fell into a great Sickneſs; upon which the Imperialiſts began to prepare for a Conclave: But *Farneſe*, and the Cardinal of *Mantua* oppoſed them, and ſeemed to have inclination for *Wolſey*. Whom, as his Correſpondents wrote to him, they reverenced as a *Deity*. Upon this, he ſent a Courier to *Gardiner*, then on his way to *Rome*, with large Directions, how to manage the Election; it was reckoned, that the King of *France*, joyning heartily with the King, of which he ſeemed confident; there were only ſix Cardinals wanting, to make the Election ſure, and beſides Sums of Money, and other Rewards, that were to be diſtributed among them; he was to give them aſſurance, that the Cardinals Preferments ſhould be divided among them. Theſe were the ſecret Methods of attaining that Chair: And indeed it would puzzle a Man of an ordinary degree of Credulity, to think, That one choſen by ſuch means, could be Chriſt's Vi-

The Pope's Sickneſs.

Wolſey's aſpiring.

Book I. car, and the infallible Judge of Controverſies. But the Pope's Recovery, put an end to thoſe Intrigues, which yet were ſoon after revived, by a long and dangerous Relapſe. Then great pains was taken to gain many Cardinals to favour the King's Cauſe; and many Precedents were found of Divorces, granted in favour of Princes, upon much ſlighter grounds. But the Imperialiſts were ſo ſtrong at *Rome*, that they could not hope to prevail, if the Emperour was not firſt gained; ſo there was a ſecret Negotiation ſet on foot with him, but it had no other effect, ſave that it gave great Jealouſy both to the Pope, and the King of *France*. Another Diſpatch was ſent to *Rome*, to procure a Commiſſion, with fuller Powers in it, to the Legates, and a Promiſe under the Pope's Hand to confirm their Sentence: The latter was granted, but the former was refuſed, for the Pope was reſolved to go no further in that Matter, tho' *Wolſey* wrote to *Rome*, that if Juſtice were denied the King, not only *England*, but *France* likewiſe would withdraw their Obedience from the Apoſtolick See; becauſe by that it would be inferred, that the Emperour had ſuch influence at *Rome*, as to oblige the Pope to be partial or favourable as he pleaſed. At this time the Cardinal was cheapning his Bulls for *Wincheſter*, which were rated at 15000 Ducats, but ſince it was a Tranſlation from *Dureſm*, ſo that a new Compoſition would come in for that Vacancy, he refus'd to pay above a third of what was demanded.

1529.

The Pope promiſed to confirm any Sentence the Legates ſhould give.

The Emperour's Ambaſſador made a Proteſtaon at *Rome*, in the Queen's Name, againſt the Legates, as partial in the King's Favour, which the Pope received. *Gardiner*, that was a Man of great Craft, and could penetrate well into Secrets,

crets, wrote to the King, assuring him, that he might expect nothing more from the Pope, who was resolved to offend neither the Emperour nor him; and therefore he advised him to get the Legates to give Sentence with all possible haste; and then when it should come to the Emperour's turn to sollicit the Pope for Bulls against the King, the Pope would be as backward as he was now. He was so fearful, and under such irresolution that he could be brought to do nothing with vigor: This, *Gardiner* desired might not be shewn to the Cardinal; for he was now setting up for himself, and had a private Correspondence with *Anne Boleyn*, who in one of her Letters to him, as a token of special Favour, sent him some Cramp Rings that the King had blessed, of which the Office is extant; and *Gardiner* in one of his Letters says, They were much esteemed for the Virtue that was believed to be in them. In the Promise which the Pope signed to confirm the Sentence that should be given by the Legates, some Clauses were put, by which he could easily be let loose from it; so he endeavoured to get another in fuller Terms, by this Artifice: He told the Pope, that the Courier had met with an Accident in passing a River, by which the Promise was so spoiled with Water, that it could not be made use of. But the Pope instead of being catched with this, to give a new one, seemed glad that it was spoiled, and positively refused to renew it. And a long and earnest Letter which the Legates wrote to the Pope, pressing him to end the matter roundly by a Decretal Bull, assuring him it was only Scruple of Conscience that wrought on the King, and no desire of a new Wife, and that the whole Nation was much offended with the delays of this matter, in which

Book I. 1529.

Book I. 1529. which they were all so much concerned, wrought nothing on him; for he considered that as done by them only in compliance with the King, who thought he had intirely gained *Campegio*, and the Scandals of his Life were so publick, that the motives of Interest were likely to prevail on him more than any other: But by all the Arts that were used, they were not able to over-reach the Pope; who, whatever he might be in his Decisions, seemed infallible in his Sagacity and Jealousy. The Queen's Agents pressed hard for an Avocation, but the Pope was unwilling to grant that, till he had finished his Treaty in all other points with the Emperour; and he began to complain much of the cold Proceedings of the Confederates, and that they exposed him so much, not only to the Emperour's Mercy, but to the scorn of the *Florentines*: By this it was visible, he was seeking a Colour for casting himself into the Emperor's Arms. Great Objections were made to the Motion for an Avocation: It was contrary to the King's Prerogative to be cited to *Rome*, and it was said, he would seek Justice of the Clergy of *England*, if the Pope denied it. It was also contrary to the Promise under the Pope's Hand, and his Faith often given by word of Mouth, chiefly of late by *Campana*, to recall the Legate's Commission; but verbal promises did not bind the Pope much, they vanished into Air; and *Campana* Swore that he had not made any, and for the written Promise, there was a Clause put in it, by which he could escape, so that he was at liberty from all Engagements, but those he had privately given in Discourse, and to these he was no Slave.

The process begun in *England*.

The Legates began the process in *England*, after the necessary Preliminaries: The Queen appeared

peared and proteſted againſt them as incompe- Book I.
tent Judges: Endeavours were uſed to terrify her into ſome compliance; it was given out that ſome had intended to kill the King or the Cardinal, and that ſhe had ſome hand in it, that ſhe carried it very diſobligingly to the King, and uſed many indecent Arts to be popular; that the King was in danger of his Life by her means, and ſo could no more keep her company neither in Bed nor at Board: But ſhe was a Woman of ſo reſolute a Mind, that no Threatnings could daunt her. When both the King and ſhe were together in the Court, the Queen inſtead of anſwering to the Legates, kneeled down before the King, and ſpake in a manner that raiſed Compaſſion in all that were preſent; ſhe ſaid, She had been his Wife theſe twenty Years; had born him ſeveral Children, and had always ſtudied to pleaſe him, therefore ſhe deſired to know wherein ſhe had at any time offended him. As for their Marriage it was made by both their Parents, who were eſteemed wiſe Princes, and had no doubt good Counſellors when their Match was agreed on; but at preſent ſhe neither had indifferent Judges, nor could ſhe expect that her Lawyers being his Subjects durſt ſpeak freely for her, and therefore ſhe could not expect Juſtice there; ſo ſhe went out of the Court, and would never return to it any more. Upon this the King gave her a great Character for her extraordinary Qualities, and proteſted, he was acted by no other Principle, than that of Conſcience. He added, that *Wolſey* did not ſet him on this Suit, but had oppoſed it long: That he firſt mov'd the Matter in Confeſſion to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and had deſired the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to procure him

1592.

Book I. 1529. him the Reſolution of the Biſhops of *England*, in his Caſe; and that they had all under their Hands declared, that his Marriage was unlawful. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* denied he had ſigned it; but *Warham* pretended he gave him leave to make another write his Name to it. *Fiſher* denied this, and it was no way probable.

The Queen appeals to the Pope.

The Legates went on according to the forms of Law, tho' the Queen appealed from them to the Pope, and excepted both to the Place, to the Judges, and her Lawyers: Yet they pronounced her *Contumax*, and went on to examine Witneſſes; chiefly, to that particular of the Conſummation of her Marriage with Prince *Arthur*. But now ſince the Proceſs was thus going on, the Emperour's Agents preſt the Pope vehemently for an Avocation; and all poſſible endeavours were uſed by the King's Agents to hinder it; they ſpared nothing that would work on the Pope; either in the way of perſwaſion, or threatning: It was told him, that there was a Treaty ſet on foot between the King and the *Lutheran* Princes of *Germany*; and that upon the Pope's declaring himſelf ſo partial, as to grant the Avocation, he would certainly imbark in the ſame Intereſts with them. But the Pope thought the King was ſo far engaged in Honour in the Points of Religion, that he would not be prevailed with to unite with *Luther*'s Followers; ſo he did not imagine, that the Effects of his granting the Avocation, would be ſo diſmal, as the Cardinal's Creatures repreſented them: He thought it would probably ruin him, which might make his Agents uſe ſuch Threatnings, and he did not much conſider that, for he hated him in his Heart. So in concluſion, after the Emperour had engaged to him, to reſtore his Family to the Goverment of *Flo-*

rence

rence, he resolved to publish his Treaty with him: but that the granting the Avocation, might not look like (what indeed it was) a secret Article, he resolved to begin with that; and with great signs of sorrow, he told the *English* Ambassadors, that he was forced to it; both because all the Lawyers told him, it could not be denied, and that he could not resist the Emperour's Forces, which surrounded him on all hands. Their endeavours to gain a little time by delays, were as fruitless as their other Arts had been, for on the 15th of *July*, the Pope signed it, and on the 19th, he sent it by an express Messenger to *England*. Book I. 1529. The Pope grants an Avocation.

The Legates, *Campegio* in particular, drew out the Matter by all the delays they could contrive, and gained much time. At last, it being brought to that, Sentence was to be pronounced, *Campegio*, instead of doing it, Adjourned the Court till *October*, and said, that they being a part of the Consistory, must observe their times of Vacation. This gave the King, and all his Court, great offence, when they saw what was like to be the Issue of a Process, on which the King was so much bent; and in which he was so far engaged, both in Honour and Interest. *Campegio* had nothing to lose in *England*, but the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, for which the Pope or Emperour could easily recompence him; but *Wolsey* was under all the Terrors, that an insolent Favourite is liable to, upon a change in his Fortune; None being more abject in Misfortune, than those that are lifted up with Success. When the Avocation was brought to *England*, the King was willing that the Legates should declare the Commission void, but would not suffer the Letters Citatory to be served, for he looked upon it as below his Dignity

Book I. 1529. Dignity to be cited to appear at *Rome*. The King governed himself upon this Occasion with more temper than was expected: He dismissed *Campegio* civilly, only his Officers searched his Coffers, when he went beyond Sea, with design, as was thought, to see if the Decretal Bull could be found. *Wolsey* was now upon the point of being disgraced, tho' the King seemed to treat him with the same Confidence he had formerly put in him; it being ordinary for many Princes to hide their designs of disgracing their Favourites, with higher Expressions of kindnesses than ordinary, till their Ruin breaks out the more violently, because it is not foreseen.

Cranmer's Rise. At this time, Dr. *Cranmer*, a Fellow of *Jesus Colledge* in *Cambridge*, meeting accidentally with *Gardiner* and *Fox* at *Waltham*, and being put on the Discourse of the King's Marriage, proposed a new Method, which was, That the King should engage the chief Universities, and Divines of *Europe*, to examine the Lawfulness of his Marriage; and if they gave their Resolutions against it, then it being certain that the Pope's Dispensation could not derogate from the Law of God, the Marriage must be declared null. This was new, and seemed reasonable; so they proposed it to the King, who was much taken with it, and said, *He had the Sow by the right Ear*. He saw this way was both better in it self, and would mortify the Pope extreamly. So *Cranmer* was sent for, and did so behave himself, that the King conceived an high Opinion, both of his Learning and Prudence, and of his Probity and Sincerity, which took such root in the King's Mind, that no Artifices nor Calumnies, were ever able to remove it.

But

But as he was thus in his Riſe, ſo *Wolſey* did now decline. The Great Seal was taken from him, and given to Sir *Thomas Moor*: And he was ſued in a *Præmunire*, for having held the Legatine Courts by a Foreign Authority, contrary to the Laws of *England*: He confeſſed the Indictment, and pleaded Ignorance, and ſubmitted himſelf to the King's Mercy; ſo Judgment paſſed on him: Then was his rich Palace (now *Whitehall*) and Royal Furniture ſeized on to the King's uſe: Yet the King received him again into his Protection, and reſtored to him the Temporalities of the Sees of *York* and *Wincheſter*, and above 6000*l.* in Plate and other Goods: And there appeared ſtill great and clear Prints in the King's Mind, of that entire Confidence to which he had received him; of which, as his Enemies were very apprehenſive, ſo he himſelf was ſo much tranſported with the Meſſages he had concerning it, that once he fell down on his Knees in a Kennel before them that brought them. Articles were put in againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, it ſeems for a Bill of Attainder, where he had but few Friends; which all Inſolent Favourites may expect in their Diſgrace. In the Houſe of Commons, *Cromwell*, that had been his Secretary, did ſo manage the matter, that it came to nothing. This failing, his Enemies procured an Order to be ſent to him, to go into *Yorkſhire*. Thither he went in great State, with an 160 Horſes in his Train, and 72 Carts following him, and there he lived ſome time. But the King was informed that he was practiſing with the Pope and the Emperour: So the Earl of *Northumberland* was ſent to Arreſt him of High Treaſon, and bring him up to *London*. On the way he ſickned, which different colours of Wit may impute, either

Book I.

1529. *Wolſey* is diſgraced.

Book I. either to a greatneſs or meanneſs of Mind, tho' the laſt be the truer. In Concluſion, he died at *Leiceſter*, making great Proteſtations of his conſtant Fidelity to the King, particularly in the matter of his Divorce: And he wiſhed he had ſerved God as faithfully as he had done the King; for then he would not have caſt him off in his gray Hairs, as the King had done. Words that declining Favourites are apt to reflect on, but they ſeldom remember them in the height of their Fortune.

1529. His Death.

The King thought it neceſſary, to ſecure himſelf of the Affections, and Confidences of his People, before he would venture on any thing that ſhould diſpleaſe two ſuch mighty Potentates, as the Pope, and the Emperour. So a Parliament was called; in it the Commons prepared ſeveral Bills, againſt ſome of the Corruptions of the Clergy; particularly, againſt Plurality of Benefices, and Non-reſidents: Abuſes that even Popery it ſelf could not but condemn. The Clergy abhorred the Precedent of the Commons medling in Eccleſiaſtical matters; ſo *Fiſher* ſpoke vehemently againſt them, and ſaid, All this flowed from *lack of Faith*.

A Parliament is called.

Upon this, the Commons complained of him to the King, for reproaching them; the Houſe of Peers either thought it no breach of Priviledge, or were willing to wink at it, for they did not interpoſe. *Fiſher* was hated by the Court, for adhering ſo firmly to the Queen's Intereſts; ſo he was made to explain himſelf, and it was paſſed over.

The Bills were much oppoſed by the Clergy, but in the end they were paſſed, and had the Royal Aſſent. In this long Interval of Parliament, the King had borrowed great Sums of Money;

Money; ſo the Parliament, both to diſcourage that way of ſupplying Kings for the future; and for ruining the Cardinal's Creatures, who had been moſt forward to lend, as having the greateſt Advantages from the Government, did by an Act diſcharge the King of all thoſe Debts. The King granted a general Pardon, with an exception of ſuch as had incurred the pains of *Præmunire*, by acknowledging a Foreign Juriſdiction, with deſign to terrify the Pope and keep the Clergy under the laſh. The King found it neceſſary to make all ſure at home, for now were the Pope and the Emperour linkt in the firmeſt Friendſhip poſſible; The Pope's Nephew was made Duke of *Florence*, and married the Emperour's Natural Daughter. A Peace was alſo made between *Francis* and the Emperour; and the King found it not ſo eaſy to make him break with the Pope upon his account, as he had expected. The Emperour went into *Italy*, and was Crowned by the Pope; who when the Emperour was kneeling down to kiſs his Foot, humbled himſelf ſo far as to draw it in, and kiſs his Cheek. Book I. 1530.

The Univerſities declare againſt the King's Marriage.

But now the King intending to proceed in the Method propoſed by *Cranmer*, ſent to *Oxford* and *Cambridg*, to procure their Concluſions. At *Oxford*, it was referred by the major part of the Convocation, to thirty three Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, whom that Faculty was to name: They were impowered to determine the Queſtion, and put the Seal of the Univerſity to their Concluſion. And they gave their Opinions, That the Marriage of the Brother's Wife, was contrary both to the Laws of God, and Nature. At *Cambridge* the Convocation was unwilling to refer it to a ſelect number; yet it

Book I. 1530. was after some Days practice, obtain'd, but with great difficulty, that it should be referred to twenty nine; of which number, two thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the Seal of the University to their Determination. These agreed in Opinion with those of *Oxford*. The jealousy that went of Dr. *Cranmer*'s favouring Lutheranism, made, that the fierce Popish Party opposed every thing in which he was so far engaged. They were also afraid of *Anne Bolleyn*'s Advancement, who was believed tinctured with those Opinions. *Crook*, a learned Man in the Greek Tongue, was imployed in *Italy*, to procure the Resolution of Divines there; in which, he was so successful, that besides the great Discoveries he made in searching the Manuscripts of the Greek Fathers, concerning their Opinions in this Point; he engaged several Persons to write for the King's Cause: And also got the *Jews* to give their Opinions of the Laws in *Leviticus*, that they were Moral and Obligatory: Yet when a Brother died without Issue, his Brother might marry his Widow within *Judea*, for preserving their Families, and Succession; but they thought that might not be done out of *Judea*. The State of *Venice* would not declare themselves, but said, they would be Neutrals; and it was not easy to perswade the Divines of the Republick, to give their Opinions, till a Brief was obtained of the Pope, permitting all Divines, and Canonists, to deliver their Opinions according to their Consciences; which was not granted but with great difficulty. *Crook* was not in a condition to corrupt any, for he complained in all his Letters, of the great want he was in: And he was in such ill terms with *John Cassali*, the King's Ambassador at *Venice*, that he

he complained much of him to the King, and was in fear of being poyſoned by him. The Pope abhorred this way of proceeding, though he could not decently oppoſe it; but he ſaid in great ſcorn, That no Friar ſhould ſet limits to his Power. *Crook* was ordered to give no Money, nor make Promiſes to any, till they had freely delivered their Opinion; which, as he writ, he had ſo carefully obſerved, that he offered to forfeit his Head, if the contrary were found true. Fifteen, or Twenty Crowns was all the Reward he gave, even to thoſe that wrote for the King's Cauſe; and a few Crowns he gave to ſome of thoſe that ſubſcribed: But the Emperour rewarded thoſe that wrote againſt the Divorce, with good Benefices; ſo little reaſon there was to aſcribe the Subſcriptions *Crook* procured to Corruption; the contrary of which, appears by his Original Accounts yet extant. Beſides many Divines and Canoniſts; not only whole Houſes of Religious Orders, but even the Univerſity of *Bononia*, tho' the Pope's Town, declared, That the Laws in *Leviticus*, about the degrees of Marriage, were parts of the Law of Nature; and that the Pope could not diſpence with them. The Univerſity of *Padua*, determined the ſame; as alſo that of *Ferrara*. In all, *Crook* ſent over to *England*, an hundred ſeveral Books, and Papers, with many Subſcriptions; all condemning the King's Marriage, as unlawful in it ſelf. At *Paris*, the *Sorbon* made their Determination with griat Solemnity; after a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, all the Doctors took an Oath, to ſtudy the Queſtion, and to give their Judgment according to their Conſciences; and after three Weeks ſtudy, the greater part agreed on this, *That the King's Marriage was unlawful, and*

Book I. 1530.

The *Sorbon* declares againſt the Marriage.

Book I

1530.

The Opinion of the Reformed Divines about it.

that the Pope could not diſpence with it. At *Orleans*, *Angiers*, and *Tholouſe*, they determined to the ſame purpoſe. *Eraſmus* had a mind to live in quiet, and ſo he would not give his Opinion, nor offend either Party. *Grineus* was imployed to try what *Bucer*, *Zuinglius*, and *Oecolampadius* thought of the Marriage. *Bucer*'s Opinion was, That the Laws in *Leviticus* did not bind, and were not moral: Becauſe God, not only diſpenſed, but commaded them to marry their Brother's Wife, when he died without Iſſue. *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* were of another mind, and thought theſe Laws were moral: But were of Opinion, that the Iſſue by a Marriage *de facto*, grounded upon a received Miſtake, ought not to be illegitimated.

Calvin thought the Marriage was null, and they all agreed that the Pope's Diſpenſation was of no force. *Oſiander* was imployed to engage the *Lutheran* Divines, but they were afraid of giving the Emperour new grounds of diſpleaſure.

Melanthon thought the Law in *Leviticus* was diſpenſable, and that the Marriage might be lawful; and that in thoſe Matters, States and Princes might make what Laws they pleaſed; And tho' the Divines of *Leipſick*, after much Diſputing about it, did agree, That theſe Laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to juſtify the Divorce, with the ſubſequent Marriage that followed upon it, even after it was done, and that the King appeared very inclinable to receive their Doctrine; ſo ſteadily did they follow their Conſciences, even againſt their Intereſts: But the Pope was more compliant, for he offered to *Caſſali*, to grant the King a Diſpenſation for having another Wife, with which

which the Imperialists seemed not dissatisfied. Book I.

The King's Cause being thus fortified, by so many Resolutions in his Favour, he made many Members of Parliament in a Prorogation time, sign a Letter to the Pope, complaining, that notwithstanding the great Merits of the King, the Justice of his Cause, and the Importance of it to the safety of the Kingdom, yet the Pope made still new Delays; they therefore pressed him to dispatch it speedily, otherwise they would be forced to see for other Remedies, tho' they were not willing to drive things to Extremities, till it was unavoidable. The Letter was signed by the Cardinal, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, four other Bishops, 22 Abbots, 42 Peers, and 11 Commoners. To this the Pope wrote an Answer: He took notice of the Vehemence of their Style: He freed himself from the Imputations of Ingratitude, and Injustice: He acknowledged the King's great Merits; and said, he had done all he could in his Favour: He had granted a Commission, but could not refuse to receive the Queen's Appeal; all the Cardinals with one consent judged, that an Avocation was necessary. Since that time, the delays lay not at his door, but at the King's: That he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as speedy an Issue as the Importance of it would admit of; and for their Threatnings, they were neither agreeable to their Wisdom, nor their Religion.

1530. Many of the Nobility writes to the Pope.

The Pope's Answer.

Things being now in such a posture, the King set out a Proclamation, against any that should purchase, bring over, or publish any Bull from *Rome*, contrary to his Authority: And after that he made an Abstract of all the Reasons and

Novemb.

Book I. 1530.

Authorities of Fathers, or Modern Writers againſt his Marriage, to be publiſhed, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*.

The Arguments for Divorce.

The main ſtreſs was laid on the Laws in *Leviticus*, of the forbidden Degrees of Marriage; among which, this was one, *Not to marry the Brother's Wife*. Theſe Marriages are called *Abominations, that defile the Land*; and for which, the *Canaanites* were caſt out of it. The Expoſition of Scripture, was to be taken from the Tradition of the Church: and by the Univerſal Conſent of all Doctors, thoſe Laws had been ſtill looked on as Moral, and ever binding to Chriſtians, as well as *Jews*: Therefore *Gregory* the Great, adviſed *Auſtin* the Monk, upon the Converſion of the *Engliſh*; among whom, the Marriages of the Brother's Wife were uſual, to diſſolve them, looking on them as grievous Sins: Many other Popes, as *Calixtus*, *Zacharias*, and *Innocent* the Third, had given their Judgments, for the perpetual obligation of thoſe Laws: They had been alſo condemned by the Councils of *Neoceſarea*, *Agde*, and the ſecond of *Toledo*. Among *Wickliff*'s condemned Opinions, this was one, That the Prohibitions of marrying in ſuch Degrees, were not founded on the Law of God: For which he was condemned in ſome Engliſh Councils, and theſe were confirmed by the General Council at *Conſtance*. Among the Greek Fathers, both *Origen*, *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, and *Heſychius*; and among the Latins, *Tertullian*, *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, and St. *Auſtin*, do formally deliver this, as the belief of the Church in their time, that thoſe Laws were Moral, and ſtill in force: *Anſelm*, *Hugo de ſancto Victore*, *Hildebert*, and *Ivo*, argue very fully to the ſame purpoſe,

pose, the last particularly, writing concerning the King of *France*, who had married his Brother's Wife, says, it was inconsistent with the Law of God, with which none can dispense; and that he could not be admitted to the Communion of the Church, till he put her away. *Aquinas*, and all the Schoolmen, follow these Authorities, and in their way of Reasoning, they argue fully for this Opinion; and all that writ against *Wickliff*, did also assert the Authority of those Prohibitions: In particular, *Waldensis*, whose Books were approved by Pope *Martin* the Fifth. All the Canonists did also agree with them, as *Johannes Andreas*, *Panormitan*, and *Ostiensis*: So that Tradition being the only sure Expounder of the Scripture, the Case seemed clear. They also proved, that a Consent without Consummation, made the Marriage compleat, which being a Sacrament, that which followed after in the Right of Marriage, was not necessary to make it compleat, as a Priest saying Mass consummates his Orders, which yet were compleat without it. Many Testimonies were brought to confirm this; from which it was inferred that the Queen's being Married to Prince *Arthur*, tho' nothing had followed upon it, made her incapable of a lawful Marriage with the King. And yet they shewed what violent Presumptions there were of Consummation, which was all that in such Cases was sought for, and this was expressed both in the Bull and Breve, tho' but dubiously in the one, yet very positively in the other. After that they examined the Validity of the Pope's Dispensation. It was a received Maxim, That tho' the Pope had Authority to dispense with the Laws of the Church, yet he could not dispense with the Laws of God, which were not subject to him:

Book I. 1630.

Book I. 1530. And it had been judged in the *Rota* at *Rome*, when a Diſpenſation was asked for a King to marry his Wives Siſter, that it could not be granted; and when Precedents were alledged for it, it was anſwered, That the Church was to be governed by Laws, and not by Examples; and if any Pope had granted ſuch Diſpenſation, it was either out of Ignorance or Corruption. This was not only the Opinion of the Schoolmen, but of the Canoniſts, tho' they were much ſet on raiſing the Pope's Power, as high as is poſſible: And therefore *Alexander* the Third, refuſed to grant a Diſpenſation in a like Caſe, tho' the Parent had ſworn to make his Son marry his Brother's Widow; others went further, and ſaid, The Pope could not diſpenſe with the Laws of the Church, which ſeveral ancient Popes had declared againſt, and it was ſaid, that the *Fulneſs of Power*, with which the Pope was veſted, did only extend to the Paſtoral Care, and was not for Deſtruction, but for Edification; and that as St. *Paul* oppoſed St. *Peter* to his Face, ſo had many Biſhops withſtood Popes, when they proceeded againſt the Canons of the Church. So both *Laurence* and *Dunſtan* in *England*, had proceeded to Cenſures, notwithſtanding the Pope's Authority interpoſed to the contrary; and no Authority being able to make what was a Sin in it ſelf, become lawful; every Man that found himſelf engaged in a ſinful courſe of Life, ought to forſake it; and therefore the King ought to withdraw from the Queen, and the Biſhops of *England* in caſe of refuſal, ought to proceed to Cenſures. Upon the whole matter, Tradition was that upon which all the Writers of Controverſy, particularly now in the Conteſts with the *Lutherans*, founded the Doctrine of the Church,

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as being the only infallible Expoſition of the doubtful parts of Scripture; and that being ſo clear in this matter, there ſeemed to be no room for any further Debate. Book I. 1530.

On the other hand, *Cajetan* was the firſt Writer, that againſt the Stream of former Ages, thought that the Laws of *Leviticus*, were only Judiciary Precepts, binding the *Jews*, and were not Moral: His Reaſons were, that *Adam*'s Children muſt have married in the Degrees there forbidden. *Jacob* married two Siſters; and *Judah*, according to cuſtom, gave his two Sons, and promiſed a third to the ſame Woman. *Moſes* alſo appointed the Brother to marry the Brother's Wife when he died without Iſſue. But a Moral Law is for ever, and in all Caſes binding; and it was alſo ſaid, that the Pope's Power reached even to the Laws of God, for he diſpenſed with Oaths and Vows; and as he had the Power of Determining Controverſies, ſo he only could declare what Laws were Moral and Indiſpenſable, and what were not; nor could any Biſhops pretend to judge concerning the Extent of his Power, or the Validity of his Bulls. Arguments againſt it.

To all this, thoſe that writ for the King, anſwered, That it was ſtrange to ſee Men who pretended ſuch Zeal againſt Hereticks, follow their Method, which was to ſet up private Reaſonings from ſome Texts of Scripture, in oppoſition to the received Tradition of the Church, which was the Bottom in which all good Catholicks thought themſelves ſafe; and if *Cajetan* wrote in this manner againſt the received Doctrine of the Church in one particular, why might not *Luther* take the ſame liberty in other Points? They alſo made diſtinctions in Moral Laws, between thoſe that were ſo from the nature of the thing

Book I. thing which was indiſpenſable, and could in no Caſe be lawful; and to this ſort, no Degrees,
1531. but thoſe of Parents and Children, could be reduced; other Moral Laws were only grounded upon Publick Inconveniences, and Diſhoneſty, ſuch as the other Degrees were; for the Familiarities that Perſons ſo nearly related live in, are ſuch, that unleſs a Terrour were ſtruck in them, by a perpetual Law againſt ſuch Mixtures, Families would be much defiled: But in ſuch Laws, tho' God may grant a Diſpenſation in ſome particular Caſes, yet an Inferiour Authority cannot pretend to it: And ſome Diſpenſations granted in the latter Ages, ought not to be ſet up to ballance the Deciſions of ſo many Popes and Councils againſt them, and the Doctrine taught by ſo many Fathers and Doctors in former times.

Both ſides having thus brought forth the ſtrength of their Cauſe; it did evidently appear, That according to the Authority given to the Tradition in the Church of *Rome*, the King had clearly the Right on his ſide, and that the Pope's Party did write with little ſincerity in this matter, being guilty of that manner of arguing from Texts of Scripture, for which they had ſo loudly charged the *Lutherans*.

The Queen continued firm to her Reſolution, of leaving the Matter in the Pope's Hands, and therefore would harken to no Propoſitions that were made to her, for referring the Matter to the Arbitration of ſome choſen on both ſides.

A Seſſion of Parliament. A Seſſion of Parliament followed in *January*, in which the King made the Deciſions of the Univerſities, and the Books that were written for the Divorce, be firſt read in the Houſe of Lords, and then they were carried down by Sir *Thomas Moor*,

More, and Twelve Lords, both of the Spirituality, and Temporality, to the Commons. There were Twelve Seals of Universities shewed, and their Decisions were read, first in Latin, and then translated into English. There were also an hundred Books shewed, written on the same Argument: Upon the shewing these, the Chancellor desired them to report in their Countries, that they now clearly saw, that the King had not attempted this Matter of his meer will and pleasure, but for the discharge of his Conscience, and the security of the Succession of the Crown. This was also brought into the Convocation, who declared themselves satisfied, concerning the unlawfulness of the Marriage: But the Circumstances they were then in, made that their Declaration was not much considered; for they were then under the lash. All the Clergy of *England* were sued as in the Case of a *Præmunire*, for having acknowledged a Foreign Jurisdiction, and taken out Bulls, and had Suits in the Legatine Court. Book I. 1531.

The Laws of *England* against Bulls from *Rome*.

The Kings of *England* did Claim such a Power in Ecclesiastical Matters, as the Roman Emperours had exercised before the fall of that Empire: Anciently they had by their Authority divided Bishopricks, granted the Investitures, and made Laws both relating to Ecclesiastical Causes and Persons. When the Popes began to extend their Power beyond the Limits assigned them by the Canons, they met with great opposition in *England*, both in the matter of Investitures, Appeals, Legates, and the other Branches of their Usurpations; but they managed all the Advantages they found, either from the Weakness, or ill Circumstances of Princes, so steadily, that in Conclusion, they subdued the World: And

if

Book I. if they had not by their cruel Exactions, ſo oppreſſed the Clergy, that they were driven to
1531. ſeek Shelter under the Covert of the Temporal Authority, the World was then ſo over-maſtered by Superſtition and Credulity, that not only the whole Spiritual Power, but even the Temporal Power of Princes, was likely to have fallen into the Pope's Hands: But the diſcontented Clergy ſupported the Secular Power, as much as they had before advanced the Papal Tyranny. *Boniface* the 8th, had raiſed his Pretenſions to that impudent pitch, that he declared, all Power, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, was derived from him, and eſtabliſhed that, as an Article of Faith, neceſſary to Salvation; and he, and his Succeſſors, took upon them, to diſpoſe of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, by their Bulls and Proviſions. Upon which, Laws were made in *England*, reſtraining thoſe Invaſions on the
15 *Ed.* 1. Crown; ſince thoſe Endowments were made for informing the People of the Law of God, and for Hoſpitality, and Acts of Charity, which were defeated, as well as the Crown was diſinherited by the Proviſions which the Popes granted. Therefore they condemned them for the future, but no Puniſhment being declared for the Tranſgreſſors of that Fact, the Courtiers at *Rome* were not frighted at ſo general a Law; ſo theſe Abuſes were ſtill continued: But in *Edward* the
15 *Ed.* 3. Third's time, a more ſevere Law was made, by which, all that tranſgreſſed were to be Impriſoned, to be fined at pleaſure, and to forfeit all their Benefices. By another Act, they were put out of the King's Protection. Several other Confirmations of this were made, both in that Reign, and under *Richard* the Second; and the former Puniſhments were extended, not only to the

the Proviſors themſelves, but to all that were imployed by them, or took Farms of them: And becauſe Licences might be granted by the King for Aliens, to hold Benefices in *England*, he did bind himſelf to grant none: Others took both Preſentations in *England*, and obtained Proviſions from *Rome*, which was likewiſe condemned. The Right of Preſentations was tryed, only in the King's Courts; but the Popes had a mind to take the Cognizance of that to their own Courts; upon which, the Parliament conſidering the great Prejudice the Nation was like to ſuffer, and the Subjection that the Crown would fall under, reſolved to provide effectual Remedies; ſo all the Commons declared, They would live and die with the King, and deſired him to examine all the Lords, whether they would uphold the Regality of the Crown. The Temporal Lords declared, they would do it: But the Spiritual Lords made ſome difficulty; yet in Concluſion, they alſo promiſed they would adhere to the Crown: So a Law paſſed, That if any purchaſed Tranſlations, Excommunications, or Bulls, from *Rome*, that were contrary to the King, or his Crown, they, and all that brought them over, or that received, or executed them, were declared to be out of the King's Protection, and that their Goods and Chattels ſhould be forfeited to the King, and their Perſons impriſoned. And becauſe the Proceedings upon this were by a Writ, called, from the moſt material Words of it, *Præmunire facias*; this Statute carried the name of the Statute of *Præmunire*. There was alſo a Law paſſed in *Henry* the Fourth's Reign, againſt ſome Bulls, which the *Ciſtertians* had procured, and againſt the high Rates ſet on Bulls in

Book I.

16 *Ric.* 2.

Book I. in the Apostolick Chamber; and whereas the King had been prevailed with to give Licences, for some Bulls, by which the Provisors put the Incumbents out of their Benefices; these were all declared to be of no force, when done in prejudice of the Subjects Rights. The Invasions that both the Popes and Kings made upon Elections, were by another Law condemned, and the Liberty of Elections was again set up. But those Kings being more concerned to preserve their own Prerogative, than the Rights of the People, were often prevailed with to grant Pardons, and Licences, to those who obtained Provisions at *Rome*, so these were all again condemned in *Henry* the Fifth's time.

1531.

4 *Hen.* 5. In all this time, the weakness of the Papacy gave Princes some advantages, which they had not in former Ages; for a great while the Popes sate at *Avignion*, where they were much Eclipsed of their former Greatness: After that a Schism followed between the Popes that sate at *Rome*, and those that still sate at *Avignion*; and the Princes of Christendom, being then at liberty to choose which of those they would acknowledg; the Popes durst not thunder against those Laws, as they had done in former times, upon much less Provocation. And indeed all the use that the Kings made of them, was, to oblige the Provisors to come and depend on them for their Licence to execute their Bulls; and the King's Authority being joyned with the Pope's, it was hard for those who were oppressed to resist that double force: Nor was there any vigorous Execution made of those Laws, otherwayes than to draw Money from the Provisors: For it fell out in this case, what is ordinary on all such Occasions, that Favourites make use of good

Laws;

Laws; by which Power is truſted to the Prince, for the Protection and Security of the Subjects, only for their own ends. It was a ſtrange weakneſs in the Princes of Chriſtendom, to take ſuch pains as was done at *Conſtance* for healing the Breach in the Papacy, for while that continued, they Reigned in Peace, and the Clergy was leſs oppreſſed than formerly: But that being once made up, the Popes were beginning again to raiſe their old Pretenſions: And Pope *Martin* the 5th, not being willing to engage with ſo high ſpirited a King, as *Henry* the Fifth was, he took Advantages in the Minority of *Henry* the Sixth's Reign; to propoſe a Repeal of thoſe Laws, and firſt wrote very ſeverely to *Chichely*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for not oppoſing the Statute of Proviſors, that had paſſed in the former Reign; nor ſtanding up for the Rights of St. *Peter*: He therefore exhorted him to imitate his Predeceſſor, *Thomas Becket*; and required him to declare at the next Parliament, the unlawfulneſs of it; and that all who obeyed it, were under Excommunication: He alſo required him to order the Clergy, to preach every where againſt it. Yet *Chichely* did not proceed ſo zealouſly as the Pope expected, and therefore he ſuſpended his Legatine Power. The Archbiſhop appealed upon this from the Pope, to the next General Council, or if none met, to the Tribunal of God: But the Pope wrote alſo to the Clergy, requiring them to do what in them lay, for the repeal of the Statute: And in another Letter to the two Archbiſhops, in which, in ſpite to *Chichely*, *York* is firſt named; he annulled the Statutes made by *Edward* the Third, and *Richard* the Second; and declared all to be Excommunicated that executed

Book I. 1531. *Hen.* 6.

Book I. executed them, reſerving the Abſolution of them to himſelf, unleſs they were at the point of
1531. Death: And he required them to publiſh, and affix this his Monitory Brief. The Archbiſhop humbled himſelf to the Pope; and got the other Biſhops, and the Univerſity of *Oxford*, to write in his Favour to him; which they did according to the flattering and vain ſtile of that Age: In his own Letter, he ſays, he had not opened the Pope's Brief, and ſo did not know what it contained; being required by the King to bring it to him with the Seals entire. The Pope wrote alſo both to the King and Parliament, requiring them, under the pains of Excommunication, and Damnation, to repeal thoſe
1427. Statutes. Upon the meeting of the next Parliament, the Archbiſhop, accompanied by ſeveral Biſhops and Abbots, went to the Houſe of Commons, and made them a long Speech, in the form of a Sermon, upon that Text, *Render unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and unto God the things that are God's*: And exhorted them to repeal thoſe Laws againſt the Pope's Power, in granting Proviſors; and with Tears laid out the Miſchiefs that would follow, if the Pope ſhould proceed to Cenſures. But the Commons would not repeal thoſe Laws; yet they were left as dead Letters among the Records, for no care was taken to execute them. The Pope was ſo far ſatisfied with *Chichely*'s Behaviour, that he received him again to favour, and reſtored to him the Legatine Power. This being hitherto mentioned by none of our Writers, it ſeemed no impertinent Digreſſion to give this account of it.

The Clergy ſued in a Præmunire.

Now were thoſe long forgotten Statutes revived, to bring the Clergy into a Snare: It was

was designed by the terrour of this, to force them into an intire submission; and to oblige them to redeem themselves by the grant of a considerable Subsidy. They pretended they had erred ignorantly; for the King by his favour to the Cardinal, seemed to consent, if not to encourage that Authority which he then excercised: It was a publick Errour, and so they ought not to be punished for it. To all this, it was answered, That the Laws which they had transgressed, were still in force, and so no Ignorance could excuse the Violation of them. The Convocation of *Canterbury* made their submission, and in their Address to the King, he was called, *The Protector, and Supream Head of the Church of England*; but some excepting to that, it was added, *in so far as it is agreeable to the Law of Christ*. This was signed by Nine Bishops, Fifty Abbots and Priors, and the greatest part of the Lower House, and with it they offered the King a Subsidy, to procure his Favour, of an *Hundred thousand Pounds*, and they promised for the future, not to make nor execute any Constitutions, without his Licence. The Convocation of *York* did not pass this so easily; they excepted to the word *Head*, as agreeing to none but Christ: Yet the King wrote them a long Expostulating Letter, and told them, with what Limitations those of *Canterbury* had passed that Title; upon which they also submitted, and offered him *Eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty Pounds*, which was also well received; and so all the Clergy were again received into the King's Protection, and pardoned. But when the King's Pardon was brought into the Parliament, the Laity complained, that they were not included within it; for many of them were also obnoxious on the same account, in some

Book I. 1531.

Book I. 1531. measure, having had Suits in the Legatine Court; and they did apprehend, that they might be brought in trouble: And therefore they Addreſſed to the King, and deſired to be comprehended within it: But the King told them, his Mercy was neither to be reſtrained, nor forced. This put the Houſe of Commons in great trouble; but they paſt the Act; and ſoon after, the King ſent a Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, which was received with great Joy; and they acknowledged, that the King had tempered his Greatneſs with his Clemency, in his way of proceeding in this matter.

A Poyſoner condemned of Treaſon.

In this Seſſion, one *Rouſe*, that had poyſoned a great Pot of Porridge, in the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Kitchin, of which two had died, and many had been brought near Death, was attainted of Treaſon, and condemned to be boiled to Death; and that was made the Puniſhment of Poyſoning in time to come. By this Act the Parliament made a Crime to be Treaſon that was not ſo before, and puniſhed the Perſon accordingly, which was founded on the Power reſerved in the 25*th* of *Edward* the 3*d* to Parliaments, to declare in time coming what Crimes were Treaſon. This ſevere Sentence was executed in *Smithfield*; *Rouſe* accuſing none as his Complices, tho' malicious Perſons did afterwards impute that Action of his to a deſign of *Anne Bolleyn* upon *Fiſher*'s Life; but his ſilence under ſo terrible a Condemnation, ſhewed he could not charge others with it.

The King departs from the Queen.

After the Seſſions of Parliament, new Applications were made to the Queen to perſwade her to depart from her Appeal, but ſhe remained fixed in her Reſolution, and ſaid, She was the King's lawful Wife, and would abide by it till the

the Court of *Rome* ſhould declare the contrary. Upon that, the King deſired her to chuſe any of his Houſes in the Country to live in, and reſolved never to ſee her more. Book I. 1531.

The Clergy were now raiſing the Subſidy, and the Biſhops intended to make the inferiour Clergy pay their ſhare. But upon the Biſhop of *London*'s calling ſome few of them together, on whom he hoped to prevail, and make them ſet a good Example to the reſt, all the Clergy hearing of it, came to the Chapter-Houſe and forced their way in, tho' the Biſhop's Officers did what they could by Violence to keep them out. The Biſhop made a Speech, ſetting forth the King's Clemency, in accepting ſuch a Subſidy inſtead of all their Benefices, which they had forfeited to him, and therefore deſired them to bear their ſhare in it patiently. They anſwered, That they had not meddled with the Cardinal's Faculties, nor needed they the King's Pardon, not having tranſgreſſed his Laws; and therefore ſince the Biſhops and Abbots only were in fault, it was reaſonable that they only ſhould raiſe the Subſidy. Upon this, the Biſhop's Officers and They came to very high Words, and it ended in Blows: But the Biſhop quieted them all he could with good Words, and diſmiſſed them with a Promiſe that none ſhould be brought into queſtion for what had been then done; yet he complained to *More* of it, and he put many of them in Priſon: But the thing was let fall.

A Tumult among the Clergy.

This Year produced a new Breach between the Pope and the Emperour; the Pope pretended to *Modeno* and *Regio* as Fiefs of the Papacy; but the Emperour judged againſt him for the Duke of *Ferrara*. Upon this the Pope reſolved to unite himſelf to the Crown of *France*;

The Pope turns to the Intereſt of *France*.

Book I. and *Francis*, to gain him more entirely, propoſed a Match between his Second Son *Henry*, and the
1532. Pope's Neece, the Famous *Catherine de Medici*; which as it wrought much on the Pope's Ambition, ſo it was like to prove a great ſupport to his Family. *Francis* alſo offered to reſign all his Pretenſions in *Italy* to his Son *Henry*, which was like to draw in other Princes to a League with him, who would have been much better pleaſed to ſee a King's younger Son among them, than either the Emperour or the King of *France*. The King's Matter was now in a fairer way of being adjuſted; for the Pope's Conſcience being directed by his Intereſts, ſince he had now broken with the Emperour, it was probable he would give the King content. He ſaw the danger of loſing *England*. The Intereſt of the Clergy was much ſunk, and they were in a great meaſure ſubjected to the Crown. *Lutheraniſm* was alſo making a great progreſs, and the Pope was out of any danger from the Emperor, on whom the whole Power of the *Turkiſh* Empire was now fallen, drawn in, as was believed, by the Practices of *Francis* at the *Port*, tho' that did not well agree with his Title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*. The Princes of *Germany* took advantage from this, to make the Emperour conſent to ſome further Liberty in matters of Religion; and to ſecure themſelves, they were then alſo entered into a League with *Francis*, for preſerving the Rights of the Empire, unto which King *Henry* was invited. All this raiſed *Francis* again very high; ſo he was the fitteſt Perſon to mediate an Agreement between the King and the Pope, and being himſelf a Lover of Pleaſure, he was the more eaſily engaged to ſerve the King in the accompliſhment of his Amours.

A

A new Seſſion of Parliament was held, in which the Laity complained of the Spiritual Courts, of their way of proceeding *ex Officio*, and not admitting Perſons accuſed to their Purgation. But this was not much conſidered, by reaſon of an ill underſtanding that fell in between the King and the Houſe of Commons. There was a Cuſtom brought in of making ſuch Settlements of Eſtates, that the Heir was not liable to Wards, and the other Advantages to which the King or the Great Lords had otherwiſe a Right by their Tenures: So a Bill for regulating that was ſent down by the Lords, but the Commons rejected it, which gave the King great Offence: upon that they addreſſed to the King for a Diſſolution, ſince they had been now obliged to a long Attendance. The King anſwered them ſharply, He ſaid, they had rejected a Bill, in which he had offered a great abatement of that which he might claim by Law; and therefore he would execute the Law in its utmoſt Severity. He told them he had patience while his Suit was in dependance, and ſo they muſt have likewiſe. For this Parliament was made up of Men very ill-affected to the Clergy, ſo the King kept it ſtill in being, to terrify the Court of *Rome* ſo much the more.

1532. A miſunderſtanding between the King and the Houſe of Commons.

All that was remarkable that paſt in this Seſſion, was an Act againſt Annats; it ſets forth, that they were founded on no Law, they were firſt exacted to defend Chriſtendom againſt Infidels, and were now kept up as a Revenue to the Papacy, and Bulls were not granted till they were compounded for; for *Eight hundred thouſand Ducats* had been carried out of *England* to *Rome* on that account, ſince the beginning of the former Reign. The King was bound by his Royal

An Act againſt *Annats*.

Book I. 1532. Care of his Subjects to hinder ſuch Oppreſſions; and therefore all that were provided to great Benefices, were required not to pay *Firſt-fruits* for the future, under the pain of forfeiting all their Goods, and the profits of their Benefices; and thoſe that were preſented to Biſhopricks were appointed to be Conſecrated, tho' their Bulls were denied at *Rome*, and they were required to pay no more but 5 *per Cent.* of the clear Profits of their Sees. If the Pope ſhould upon this proceed to Cenſures, they required all the Clergy to perform Divine Offices, theſe notwithſtanding. But by an extraordinary Proviſo, they referred it to the King to declare at any time between that and *Eaſter* next, whether this Act ſhould take place or not: And the King by his Letters Patents declared, that it ſhould take place, being provoked by the Pope.

The Pope writes to the King.

In *January* the Pope, upon the motion of the Imperaliſts, wrote to the King, complaining that notwithſtanding a Suit was depending concerning his Marriage, yet he had put away his Queen, and kept one *Anne* as his Wife, contrary to a Prohibition ſerved on him; therefore he exhorted him to live with his Queen again, and to put *Anne* away. Upon this, the King ſent Dr. *Bennet* to *Rome* with a large Diſpatch; in it he complained that the Pope proceeded in that matter upon the ſuggeſtion of others, who were ignorant and raſh Men: The Pope had carried himſelf inconſtantly and deceitfully in it, and not as became Chriſt's Vicar: and the King had now for ſeveral Years expected a Remedy from him in vain. The Pope had granted a Commiſſion, had promiſed never to recall it, and had ſent over a Decretal Bull defining the Cauſe. Either theſe were unjuſtly granted, or unjuſtly recalled. If he had

Authority

Authority to grant these things, where was the Faith which became a Friend, much more a Pope, since he had recalled them? If he had not Authority to grant them, he did not know how far he could consider any thing he did. It was plain that he acted more with regard to his Interests, than according to Conscience; and that as the Pope had often confessed his own Ignorance in these matters, so he was not furnished with Learned Men to advise him, otherwise he would not maintain a Marriage which almost all the Learned Men and Universities in *England*, *France*, and *Italy*, had condemned as unlawful. He desired the Pope would excuse the Freedom he used, to which his Carriage had forced him. He would not question his Authority, unless he were compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its first and ancient Limits, which was much better than to let it run on headlong, and still do amiss. This high Letter made the Pope resolve to proceed and end this Matter, either by a Sentence, or a Treaty. The King was cited to answer to the Queen's Appeal at *Rome* in Person, or by Proxy; so Sir *Edward Karne* was sent thither in the new Character of the *King's Excusator*, to excuse the King's Appearance, upon such Grounds as could be founded on the Canon Law, and upon the Priviledges of the Crown of *England*. *Bonner*, that was a forward and ambitious Man, and would stick at nothing that might contribute to his Preferment, was sent over with him. The Imperialists pressed the Pope much to give Sentence, but all the wise Cardinals, who observed by the Proceedings of the Parliament, that the Nation would adhere to the King, if he should be provoked to shake off the Pope's Yoke, were very apprehensive of a Breach, and

Book I. 1532.

The King cited to *Rome*, excuses himself.

Book I. 1532. ſuggeſted milder Counſels to the Pope; and the King's Agents aſſured him, that if he gave the King content, the late Act againſt *Annats*, ſhould not be put in execution.

Some Cardinals corrupted.

The Cardinal of *Ravenna* was then conſidered as an Oracle for Learning in the Conſiſtory, ſo the King's Agents reſolved to gain him with great Promiſes; but he ſaid, Princes were liberal of their Promiſes, till their turn was ſerved, and then forgot them; ſo he reſolved to make ſure work; therefore he made *Bennet* give him a promiſe in writing of the Biſhoprick of *Ely*, or the firſt Biſhoprick that fell till that was vacant, and *Bennet* alſo engaged that the King ſhould procure him Benefices in *France* to the value of *Six thouſand Duckats* a Year, for the Service he ſhould do him in his Divorce. This was an Argument of ſo great Efficacy with the Cardinal, that it abſolutely turned him from being a great Enemy, to be as great a Promoter of the King's Cauſe, tho' very artificially. Several other Cardinals were alſo prevailed with by the ſame Topicks. The King's Agents put in his Plea of Excuſe in 28 Articles, and it was ordered that three of them ſhould be diſcuſſed at a Hearing before the Conſiſtory, till they ſhould be all examined: But that Court ſitting once a Week, the Imperialiſts, after ſome of them were heard, procured an Order, that the reſt ſhould be heard in a Congregation or Committee of Cardinals before the Pope, for greater Diſpatch: But *Karne* refuſed to obey this, and ſo it was referred back to the Conſiſtory. But againſt this the Imperialiſts proteſted, and refuſed to appear any more. News was brought to *Rome* from *England*, that a Prieſt that had preached up the Pope's Power, was caſt into Priſon; and that one committed by the Archbiſhop for Hereſy, appealed to the King as

Supream

Supream Head, which was received and judged in the King's Courts. The Pope made great Complaints upon this: But the King's Agents ſaid, the beſt way to prevent the like for the future was to do the King Juſtice. At this time a Bull was granted for ſuppreſſing ſome Monaſteries, and erecting new Biſhopricks out of them. *Cheſter* was to be one, and the Cardinal of *Ravenna* was ſo pleaſed with the Revenue deſigned for it, that he laid his Hand upon it, till *Ely* ſhould happen to fall vacant. In concluſion, the Pope ſeemed to favour the King's Plea Excuſatory, upon which the Imperialiſts made great Complaints. But this amounted to no more, ſave that the King was not bound to appear in Perſon: Therefore the Cardinals that were gained, adviſed the King to ſend over a Proxy for anſwering to the merits of the Cauſe, and not to loſe more time in that Dilatory Plea; and they having declared themſelves againſt the King in that Plea, before the Bargain had been made with them, could with the better Credit ſerve him in the other. So the Vacation coming on, it was reſolved by the Cardinals neither to admit nor reject the Plea. But both the Pope and the Colledge wrote to the King to ſend over a Proxy for determining the matter next Winter. *Bonner* was alſo ſent to *England* to aſſure the King, that the Pope was now ſo much in the *French* Intereſt, that he might confidently refer his matter to him; but whereas the King deſired a Commiſſion to judge *(in partibus)* upon the place: It was ſaid, that the Point to be judged, being the Pope's Authority to diſpenſe with the King's Marriage, that could not be referred to Legates, but muſt needs be judged in the Conſiſtory.

Book 1. 1532.

At this time a new Seſſion of Parliament was called

Book I. called in *England*. The Clergy gave in an Answer to the Complaints made of them by the Commons in the former Sessions: But when the King gave it to the Speaker, he complained that one *Temse*, a Member of their House, had moved for an Address to the King, that the Queen might be again brought back to the Court; The King said, it touched his Conscience, and was not a thing that could to be determined in that House. He wished his Marriage were good, but many Divines had declared it unlawful. He did not make his Suit out of Lust or foolish Appetite, being then past the Heats of Youth; he assured them, his Conscience was troubled, and desired them to report that to the House. Many of the Lords came down to the House of Commons, and told them, the King intended to build some Forts on the Borders of *Scotland*, to secure the Nation from the Inroads of the *Scots*; and the Lords approving of this, sent them to propose it to the Commons, upon which a Subsidy was voted; but upon the breaking out of the Plague, the Parliament was prorogued, before the Act was finished. At that time the King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and he told him, he found that the Prelates were but half Subjects; for they swore at their Consecration an Oath to the Pope, that was inconsistent with their Allegiance and Oath to the King. By their Oath to the Pope, they swore to be in no Council against him, nor to disclose his Secrets; but to maintain the Papacy, and the Regalities of St. *Peter* against all Men; together with the Rights and Authorities of the Church of *Rome*, and that they should honourably entreat the Legats of the Apostolick See, and observe all the Decrees, Sentences, Provisions and Commandments of that See; and yearly, either

1532. A Session of Parliament.

The Oaths which the Bishops swore both to the Pope and the King

either in Perſon or by Proxy, viſit the Threſholds of the Apoſtles. In their Oath to the King, they renounced all Clauſes in their Bulls contrary to the King's Royal Dignity, and did Swear to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him againſt all others, and to keep his Counſel; acknowledging that they held their Biſhopricks only of him. By theſe it appeared that they could not keep both thoſe Oaths, in caſe a Breach ſhould fall out between the King and the Pope. But the Plague broke off the Conſultations of Parliament at this time. Soon after, Sir *Thomas Moor* ſeeing a Rupture with *Rome* coming on ſo faſt, deſired leave to lay down his Office, which was upon that conferred on Sir *Thomas Audley*. *More* was ſatisfied with the King's keeping up the Laws formerly made in Oppoſition to the Papal Encroachments, and ſo had concurred in the Suit of *Præmunire*; but now the matter went further, and ſo he not being able to keep pace with the Counſels, returned to a private Life, with a Greatneſs of Mind equal to what the ancient *Greeks* or *Romans* had expreſſed on ſuch Ocaſions. Endeavours were uſed to faſten ſome Imputations on him, in the Diſtribution of Juſtice; but nothing could be brought againſt him, to blemiſh his Integrity.

Book I. 1533.

More quits his Office.

An Interview followed between the Kings of *France* and *England*; to which, *Anne Bolleyn*, now Marchioneſs of *Pembroke*, was carried; In which, after the firſt Ceremonies, and Magnificence was over, *Francis* promiſed *Henry* to ſecond him in his Suit: He encouraged him to proceed to a Second Marriage without more adoe; and aſſured him he would ſtand by him in it: And told him, he intended to reſtrain the payment of Annats to *Rome*; and would ask of the Pope a Redreſs

An Interview between the Kings of *France* and *England*.

Book I. 1533. Redreſs of that and other Grievances; and if it was denied, he would ſeek other Remedies in a Provincial Council. An Interview was propoſed between the Pope and Him; to which he deſired the King to go with him; and the King was not unwilling to it, if he could have Aſſurance that his Buſineſs would be finally determined. The Pope offered to the King, to ſend a Legate to any indifferent place out of *England*, to form the Proceſs, reſerving only the giving Sentence to himſelf; and propoſed to him, and all Princes, a General Truce, that ſo he might call a General Council. The King anſwered, That ſuch was the preſent State of the Affairs of *Europe*, that it was not ſeaſonable to call a General Council; that it was contrary to his Prerogative to ſend a Proxy to appear at *Rome*; That by the Decrees of General Councils, all Cauſes ought to be judged on the place, and by a Provincial Council; and that it was fitter to judge it in *England*, than any where elſe: And that by his Coronation-Oath, he was bound to maintain the Dignities of his Crown, and the Rights of his Subjects; and not to appear before any Foreign Court: So Sir *Thomas Elliot* was ſent over with Inſtructions, to move, that the Cauſe might be judged in *England:* Yet if the Pope had real Intentions of giving the King full Satisfaction, he was not to inſiſt on that: And to make the Cardinal of *Ravenna* ſure, he ſent him the offer of the Biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, then vacant. Soon after this, the King married *Anne Bolleyn*; *Rowland Lee* (afterwards Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*) did officiate, none being preſent but the Duke of *Norfolk*, and her Father, her Mother, and her Brother, and *Cranmer*. It was thought, that the former Marriage being

Nov. 14. the King marries *Anne Bolleyn.*

being null of it ſelf, the King might proceed to another: And perhaps, they hoped, that as the Pope had formerly propoſed this Method, ſo he would now approve of it. But tho' the Pope had joyned himſelf to *France*, yet he was ſtill ſo much in fear of the Emperour, that he reſolved not to provoke him; and ſo was not wrought on by any of the Expedients which *Bennet* propoſed, which were either to judge the Cauſe in *England*, according to the Council of *Nice*; or to refer it to the Arbitration of ſome, to be named by the King, and the King of *France*, and the Pope: For all theſe, he ſaid, tended to the Diminution of the Papal Power. A new Citation was iſſued out, for the King, to anſwer to the Queen's Complaints; but the King's Agents proteſted, that he was a Sovereign Prince, that *England* was a free Church, over which the Pope had no juſt Authority; and that the King could expect no Juſtice at *Rome*, where the Emperour's Power was ſo great. Book I. 1533.

At this time, the Parliament met again, and paſt an Act, condemning all Appeals to *Rome*: In it they ſet forth, "That the Crown was Im- "perial, and that the Nation was a compleat "Body, having full Power to do Juſtice in all "Caſes, both Spiritual and Temporal: And, "that as former Kings had maintained the Li- "berties of the Kingdom againſt the Uſurpations "of the See of *Rome*; ſo they found the great "Inconveniencies of allowing Appeals in Ma- "trimonial Cauſes; That they put them to "great Charges, and occaſioned many Delays: "Therefore they Enacted, That thereafter thoſe "ſhould be all judged within the Kingdom, and "no regard ſhould be had to any Appeals to "*Rome*, or Cenſures from it: But Sentences "given

1533. The Parliament condemns Appeals to *Rome*.

Book I. 1533. "given in *England*, were to have their full Effect: "And all that executed any Cenſures from *Rome*, "were to incur the pains of *Præmunire*. Appeals "were to be from the Arch-Deacon to the Biſhop, "and from him to the Archbiſhop: And in the "Cauſes that concerned the King, the Appeal "was to be to the Upper-Houſe of Convocation.

There was now a new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Warham* died the former Year: He was a great Patron of Learning, a good Canoniſt, and wiſe States-man; but was a cruel Perſecutor of Hereticks, and inclined to believe Fanatical Stories. *Cranmer* was then in *Germany*, diſputing in the King's Cauſe with ſome of the Emperour's Divines. The King reſolved to advance him to that Dignity; and ſent him word of it, that ſo he might make haſte over: But a Promotion ſo far above his Thoughts, had not its common Effects on him: He had a true and primitive Senſe of ſo great a Charge; and inſtead of aſpiring to it, he was afraid of it, and he both returned very ſlowly to *England*, and uſed all his Endeavours to be excuſed from that Advancement: But this declining of Preferment, being a thing of which the Clergy of that Age were ſo little guilty, diſcovered, that he had Maxims very far different from moſt Church-men. Bulls were ſent for to *Rome*, in order to his Conſecration, which the Pope granted, tho' it could not be very grateful to him, to ſend them to one who had ſo publickly Diſputed againſt his Power of Diſpenſing; all the Compoſition that was payed for them, was but *Nine hundred Duckets*, which was perhaps according to the Regulation, made in the Act againſt Annats. There were Eleven ſeveral Bulls ſent over, One, confirming the King's Nomination; a Second requiring him to accept

Cranmer made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

accept it; a Third, abſolving him from Cenſures; a Fourth, to the Suffragan Biſhops; a Fifth, to the Dean and Chapter; a Sixth, to the Clergy; a Seventh, to the Laity; an Eighth, to the Tenants of the See, requiring all theſe to receive him to be their Archbiſhop; a Ninth, requiring ſome Biſhops to conſecrate him; the Tenth gave him the Pall; and by the Eleventh, the Archbiſhop of *York* was required to put it on him. The putting all this in ſo many different Bulls, was a good Contrivance, for raiſing the Rents of the Apoſtolick Chamber. On the 30th of *March*, *Cranmer* was conſecrated by the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, and St. *Aſaph*. The Oath to the Pope was of hard Digeſtion: So he made a Proteſtation before he took it, that he conceived himſelf not bound up by it in any thing, that was contrary to his Duty to God, to his King, or Country; and he repeated this when he took it; ſo that if this ſeemed too artificial for a Man of his ſincerity; yet he acted in it fairly, and above Board. Book I. 1533. Longland, Voyſei. Standiſh.

The Convocation had then two Queſtions before them; the firſt was, Concerning the Lawfulneſs of the King's Marriage, and the Validity of the Pope's Diſpenſation; the other was, of Matter of Fact, whether P. *Arthur* had conſummated the Marriage, or not. For the firſt, the Judgments of 19 Univerſities were read; and after a long Debate, there being 23 only in the Lower Houſe, 14 were againſt the Marriage, and 7 for it, and 2 voted dubiouſly. In the upper Houſe, *Stokeſly*, Biſhop of *London*, and *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter* maintained the Debate long: the one for the Affirmative, and the other the Negative: At laſt it was carried, *Nemine contradicente*, (the few that were of the other ſide it ſeems withdrawing) The Convocation condemns the King's Marriage.

Book I. drawing) againſt the Marriage, 216 being preſent. For the other, that concerned matter of
1533. Fact, it was referred to the Canoniſts; and they all, except five or ſix, reported, That the Preſumptions were violent; and theſe in a matter not capable of plain proof, were always received in law. The ſmall number in the Lower, and the far greater number in the upper Houſe of Convocation, makes it probable, that then not only Biſhops, but all Abbots, Priors, Deans, and Arch-deacons, ſate in the upper Houſe, for they were all called *Prelates*, and had their Writs to ſit in a General Council, as appears by the Records of the fourth Council in the *Lateran*, and the Council at *Vienna*, and ſo they might well ſit in the upper Houſe: And perhaps the two Houſes of Convocation, were taken from the Pattern of the two Houſes of Parliament, and ſo none might ſit in the lower Houſe, but ſuch as were choſen to repreſent the Inferiour Clergy. The Books of Convocation are now loſt, having periſhed in the Fire of *London*; but the Author of *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, who lived in that time, is of that great credit, that we may well depend upon his Teſtimony.

Cranmer gives the final Sentence.

The Convocation having thus judged in the matter, the Ceremony of pronouncing the Divorce judicially, was now only wanting. The new Queen began to have a big Belly, which was a great Evidence of her living chaſtly before that with the King. On Eaſter Eve ſhe was declared Queen of *England*. And ſoon after, *Cranmer*, with *Gardiner* (who was made upon *Wolſey*'s death Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) and the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, with many Divines and Canoniſts, went to *Dunſtable*; Queen *Katharine* living then near it, at *Ampthil*. The King

Stokeſley. Longland, Clerk.

King and Queen were cited; he appeared by Proxy, but the Queen refuſed to take any notice of the Court: So after three Citations, ſhe was declared *Contumax*, and all the Merits of the Cauſe formerly mentioned, were examined. At laſt, on the 23*d* of *May*, Sentence was given, declaring the Marriage to have been null from the beginning. Among the Archbiſhop's Titles in the beginning of the Judgment, he is called, *Legate of the Apoſtolick See*, which perhaps was added to give it the more force in Law. Some Days after this, he gave another Judgment, confirming the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*, on the firſt of *June*, ſhe was Crowned Queen: This was variouſly Cenſured. It was ſaid, That in the Intervals of a General Council, the asking the Opinions of ſo many Univerſities, and Learned Men, was the only ſure way to find out the Tradition of the Church: And a Provincial Council had ſufficient Authority to Judge in this Caſe: Yet many thought, the Sentence diſſolving the firſt Marriage, ſhould have preceded the ſecond: And it being contracted, before the firſt was legally annulled, there was great colour given to queſtion the Validity of it. But it was anſwered, That ſince the firſt was judged null of it ſelf, there was no need of a Sentence Declaratory, but only for Form: Yet it was thought, either there ought to have been no Sentence paſt at all, or it ſhould have been before the ſecond Marriage. Some objected, That *Cranmer* having appeared ſo much againſt the Marriage, was no competent Judge; but it was ſaid, That as Popes are not bound by the Opinions they held when they were private Men; ſo he, having changed his Character, could not be challenged on that account, but might give Sentence as Judges Decide

Book I. 1533.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

Book I. 1533. Cauſes, in which they formerly gave Counſel: And indeed, the Convocation had judged the Cauſe, he only gave Sentence in form of Law. The World wondred at the Pope's Stiffneſs; but he often confeſſed, he underſtood not thoſe matters, only he was afraid of provoking the Emperour; or of giving the *Lutherans* advantage to ſay, that one Pope condemned that which another had diſpenſed. All People admired Queen *Anne*'s conduct, who in a Courſe of ſo many Years managed a King's Spirit, that was ſo violent, in ſuch a manner, as neither to ſurfeit him with too many Favours, nor to provoke him with too much Rigour; and her being ſo ſoon with Child, gave hopes of a numerous Iſſue: They that loved the Reformation, lookt for better Days under her Protection; but many Prieſts, and Friars, both in Sermons and Diſcourſes, condemned the King's Proceedings. The King ſent Ambaſſadours to all Courts, to juſtify what he had done: He ſent alſo ſome to Queen *Katherine*, to charge her to aſſume no other Title, but that of Princeſs *Dowager*; and to give her hopes of putting her Daughter next in the Succeſſion to the Crown, after his Iſſue by the preſent Queen, if ſhe would ſubmit her ſelf to his Will, but ſhe would not yield; ſhe ſaid, ſhe would not take that Infamy on her ſelf; and ſo reſolved, that none ſhould ſerve about her, that did not treat her as Queen. All her Servants adhered ſo to her Intereſt, that no Threatnings nor Promiſes could work on them: And the ſtir which the King kept in this matter, was thought below his Greatneſs, and ſeemed to be ſet on by a Woman's Reſentments; for ſince ſhe was deprived of the Majeſty of a Crown, the Pageantry of a Title was not worth the noiſe that was made about

about it. The Emperour ſeemed big with Reſentments. The French King was colder than the King expected; yet he promiſed to intercede with the Pope, and the Cardinals, on his account: But he was now ſo entirely gained by the Pope, that he reſolved not to involve himſelf in the King's Quarrel, as a Party: And he alſo gave over the Deſigns he once had of ſetting up a Patriarch in *France*; for the Pope granted him ſo great a Power over his own Clergy, that he could not deſire more. With this the Emperour was not a little pleaſed; for this was like to ſeparate thoſe two Kings, whoſe Conjunction had been ſo hurtful to him. Book I. 1533.

The Proceedings at *Rome* upon it.

At *Rome* the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction, complained much of the Attempt made on the Pope's Power; ſince a Sentence was given in *England* in a Proceſs depending at *Rome*; ſo they preſt the Pope to proceed to Cenſures. But inſtead of putting the matter paſt reconciling, there was only Sentence given, annulling all that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had done; and the King was required under the pain of Excommunication, to put things again in the ſtate in which they were formerly; and this was affixed at *Dunkirk*. The King ſent a great Embaſſy to *Francis*, who was then ſetting out to *Marſeilles*, where the Pope was to meet him: Their Errand was to diſſwade him from the Journey, unleſs the Pope would promiſe to give the King Satisfaction: The King of *France* ſaid, he was engaged in Honour to go on; but aſſured them, he would mind the King's Concerns, with as much Zeal, as if they were his own.

Sept. 7. Q. *Elizabeth* born.

In *September* the Queen brought forth a Daughter, the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*; and the King having before declared Lady *Mary*

Book I. 1530. Princeſs of *Wales*, did now the ſame for her: Tho' ſince a Son might put her from it, ſhe could not be *Heir Apparent*, but only the *Heir Preſumptive* to the Crown. At *Marſeilles*, the Marriage was made up between the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Pope's Niece, to whom the Pope gave, beſides *One hundred thouſand Crowns*, many Principalities, which he pretended were either Fiefs of the Papacy, or belonged to him in the Rights of the Houſe of *Medici*. The Pope's Hiſtorian with ſome Triumph, boaſted, that the Marriage was conſummated that very Night; tho' it was thought not credible, that Prince *Arthur*, that was Nine Months older than the now Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards *Henry* the Second, did conſummate his.

The Pope promiſes to ſatisfy King *Henry*.

There was a ſecret Agreement made between the Pope and *Francis*, that if King *Henry* would refer his Cauſe to the Conſiſtory, excepting only to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his Obedience to the See of *Rome*, then Sentence ſhould be given in his Favours; but this was to be kept ſecret: So *Bonner* not being truſted with it, and ſent thither with an Appeal from the Pope to the next General Council, made it with great boldneſs, and threatned the Pope upon it, with ſo much Vehemence, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a Cauldron of melted Lead, or burning him alive: And he apprehending ſome danger, fled away privately. But when *Francis* came back to *Paris*, he ſent over the Biſhop of that City, to the King, to let him know what he had obtained of the Pope in his Favour, and the Terms on which it was promiſed: This wrought ſo much on the King, that he preſently conſented to them. And upon that, the Biſhop of

of *Paris*, tho' it was now in the middle of Winter, took Journey to *Rome*; being ſure of the Scarlet, if he could be the Inſtrument of regaining *England*, which was then upon the point of being loſt: What theſe Aſſurances were which the Pope gave, is not certain, but the Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Tonſtal* of *Dureſm*, in a Letter which they wrote on that Occaſion, ſay, that the Pope ſaid at *Marſeilles*, *That if the King would ſend a Proxy to* Rome, *he would give Sentence for him againſt the Queen, for he knew his Cauſe was good and juſt.* Upon the Biſhop of *Paris*'s coming to *Rome*, the matter ſeemed agreed; for it was promiſed, that upon the King's ſending a Promiſe under his Hand, to put things in their former ſtate; and his ordering a Proxy to appear for him, Judges ſhould be ſent to *Cambray* for making the Proceſs, and then Sentence ſhould be given. Upon the notice given of this, and of a Day that was prefixt for the return of the Courier, the King diſpatched him with all poſſible haſte; and now the Buſineſs ſeemed at an end. But the Courier had a Sea and the *Alps* to paſs, and in Winter it was not eaſy to obſerve a limited Day ſo exactly: This made that he came not to *Rome* on the prefixed Day; upon which, the Imperialiſts gave out, that the King was abuſing the Pope's Eaſineſs; ſo they preſt him vehemently to proceed to a Sentence: The Biſhop of *Paris* moved only for a delay of Six Days, which was no unreaſonable time in that Seaſon, and in favour of ſuch a King, who had a Suit depending Six Years; and ſince he had Patience ſo many Years, the delay of a few Days was no extraordinary Favour. But the deſign of the Imperialiſts was, to hinder a Reconciliation; for if the King had

Book I. 1633.

Book I. been set right with the Pope, there would have been so powerful a League formed against the
1533. Emperour, as would have broke all his Measures: And therefore it was necessary for his Designs to imbroil them. It was also said, that the King was seeking Delays, and Concessions, meerly to delude the Pope; and that he had proceeded far in his Design against that See, that it was necessary to go on to Censures: And the angry Pope was so provoked by them, and by the News that he heard out of *England*; that without consulting his ordinary Prudence, he brought in the matter into the Consistory; and there the Imperialists being the greater number, it was driven on with so much Precipitation, that they did in one Day that, which according to Form, should have been done in three.

23 *March.* But proceeds hastily to a Sentence

They gave the final Sentence, declaring the King's Marriage with Queen *Katherine* good; and required him to live with her as his Wife, otherwise they would proceed to Censures. Two Days after that, the Courier came with the King's Submission in due Form: He also brought earnest Letters from *Francis*, in the King's Favour. This wrought on all the indifferent Cardinals, as well as those of the French Faction. So they prayed the Pope to recall what was done. A new Consistory was called, but the Imperialists prest with greater Vehemence than ever, that they would not give such Scandal to the World, as to recall a definitive Sentence past, of the Validity of a Marriage; and give the Hereticks such Advantages by their unsteadiness in matters of that Nature: And so it was carried, that the former Sentence should take place; and the Execution of it was committed to the Emperour. When this was known in *England*,

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it determined the King in his Resolutions, of shaking off the Pope's Yoke, in which he had made so great a Progress, that the Parliament had past all the Acts concerning it, before he had the News from *Rome*: For he judged, that the best way to Peace was, to let them at *Rome* see, with what Vigour he could make War. All the rest of the World lookt on astonished, to see the Court of *Rome* throw off *England* with so much scorn, as if they had been weary of the Obedience and Profits of so great a Kingdom, and their Proceedings looked as if they had been secretly directed by a Divine Providence, that designed to draw great Consequences from this Rupture, and did so far infatuate those that were most concerned to prevent it, that they needlesly drew it on themselves. Book I. 1533.

The Arguments used for rejecting the Pope's Power.

In *England* they had been now examining the Foundations on which the Papal Authority was built, with extraordinary Care for some Years; and several Books being then and soon after written on that Subject, the Reader will be able to see better into the Reasons of their Proceedings by a short Abstract of these.

All the Apostles were made equal in the Powers that Christ gave them, and he often condemned their Contests about Superiority, but never declared in St. *Peter*'s Favour. St. *Paul* withstood him to his Face, and reckoned himself not inferiour to him. If the Dignity of a Person left any Authority with the City in which he sat; then *Antioch* must carry it as well as *Rome*: and *Jerusalem*, where Christ suffered, was to be prefered to all the World, for it was truly the Mother Church. Christ said to *Peter*, *Upon this Rock will I build my Church.* The Ancients understood by the *Rock*, either the Confession *Pe-*

Book I. 1533. *ter* had made, or, which is all one upon the matter, Christ himself; and tho' it were to be meant of St. *Peter*, all the rest of the Apostles are also called *Foundations*; that of, *Tell the Church*, was by many Doctors of the Church of *Rome* turned against the Pope for a General Council. The other Priviledges ascribed to St. *Peter*, were either only a precedence of Order, or were occasioned by his Fall, as that, *Feed my Sheep*, it being a restoring him to the Apostolical Function. St. *Peter* had also a limitted Province, the Circumcision, as St. *Paul* had the Uncircumcision, that was of far greater extent; which shewed that he was not considered as the Universal Pastor. In the Primitive Church St. *Cyprian*, and other Bishops, wrote to the Bishops of *Rome*, as to their Fellow-Bishop, Colleague and Brother: They were against Appeals to *Rome*, and did not submit to their Definition, and in plain Terms asserted, That all Bishops were equal in Power as the Apostles had been. It is true, the Dignity of the City made the Bishops of *Rome* to be much esteemed; yet in the first Council of *Nice*, the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, were declared to have the same Authority in the Countries about them, that the Bishops of *Rome*, had over those that lay about them. It is true, the East being over-run with *Arrianism*, from which the West was better preserved, the oppressed Eastern Bishops did take shelter in the Protection the Bishops of *Rome* gave them; and, as is natural to all People, they magnified that Authority which was so useful to them. But the second General Council indirectly condemned all Appeals to *Rome*: For it decreed, that every Province should be governed by its own Synod, and allowed no higher Appeal

peal but to the Biſhops of the Dioceſs. *Conſtantinople* being made the Imperial City, the ſecond and fourth General Council gave it equal Priviledges with *Rome*, becauſe it was *new Rome*: which ſhews that the Dignity of the Sees flowed from the greatneſs of the Cities. The *African* Churches condemned all Appeals to *Rome*, and the Popes, who complained of that, pretended only to a Canon of the Council of *Niece* for it; and then they did not talk of a Divine Right: But ſearch being made into all the Copies of the Canons of the Council, that was found to be a Forgery. When the Emperour *Mauricius* gave the Title, *Univerſal Biſhop*, to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; *Gregory the Great* complained of the Ambition of that Title, which he calls equal to the Pride of *Lucifer*; and ſince *England* received the Faith by thoſe whom he ſent over, it appeared from thence what was the Doctrine of that See at that time, and by conſequence, what were the firſt Impreſſions made on the *Engliſh* in that matter. It is true, *Boniface* the third got the ſame Title by *Phocas*'s Grant, and *Boniface* the eighth pretended to all Power both Spiritual and Temporal; but the progreſs of the Uſurpations, and the Wars raiſed to maintain them, were very viſible in Hiſtory. The Popes Swore at their Conſecrations to obey the Canons of the eighth firſt General Councils, which are manifeſt againſt Appeals and their Univerſal Juriſdiction: Small regard is to be had to the Decrees of latter Councils, being Cabals pack'd and managed as the Popes pleaſed. Several Sees, as *Ravenna*, *Milan*, and *Aquileia* pretended Exemption from the Papal Authority. Many Engliſh Biſhops had aſſerted, that the Popes had no Authority againſt the Canons, and

Book I. 1533.

to

Book I. to that Day no Canon the Popes made was binding till it was received; which ſhewed the
1533. Pope's Authority was not believed founded on a Divine Authority: And the Conteſts that the Kings of *England* had with the Popes concerning Inveſtitures, Biſhops doing the King Homage, Appeals to *Rome*, and the Authority of Papal Bulls and Proviſions, ſhewed that the Pope's Power was believed ſubject to Laws and Cuſtom, and ſo not derived from Chriſt and St. *Peter*; and as Laws had given them ſome Power, and Princes had been forced in Ignorant Ages to ſubmit to their Uſurpations, ſo they might as they ſaw Cauſe change thoſe Laws, and reſume their Rights.

And for the King's Supremacy.

The next Point inquired into, was, the Authority that Kings had in matters of Religion and the Church. The Kings of *Iſrael* judged in all Cauſes, and *Samuel* called *Saul* the *Head of the Tribes*. *David* made many Rules about the Service at the Temple, and declaring to *Solomon* what his Power was, he told him, that the *Prieſts were wholly at his Command*; and it is alſo ſaid, that *Solomon appointed the Prieſts their Charges in the Service of God, and that they departed not from his Commandment in any matter*; he turned out one High-Prieſt, and put another in his room. *Jehoſhaphat*, *Hezekiah*, and *Joſias*, made alſo Laws about Eccleſiaſtical Matters. In the New Teſtament, Chriſt was himſelf ſubject to the Civil Powers, and charged his Diſciples not to affect Temporal Dominion. They alſo wrote to the Churches to be ſubject to the Higher Powers, and call them *Supream*, and charge every Soul to be ſubject to them: So in Scripture the King is called *Head* and *Supream*, and *every Soul* is ſaid to be under him,

1 Chron. 28. 21. 2 Chron. 8. 14, 15.

him, which joyn'd together, makes up this Conclusion, That *He is the Supream Head over all Persons.* In the Primitive Church the Bishops only made Rules or Canons, but pretended to no compulsive Authority, but what came from the Civil Magistrate. The Roman Emperours called Councils, presided in them, and confirmed them; and made many Laws concerning Ecclesiastical Matters; so did also *Charles* the Great. The Emperours did also either chuse the Popes themselves, or confirm their Elections. Church-men taking Orders, were not thereby discharged from the Obedience they formerly owed their Princes, but remained still Subjects. And tho' the Officers of the Church had peculiar Functions, in which the People were subject to them, that did not deliver them from their Obedience to the King; as a Father's Authority over his Children cuts not off the King's Power over him. They found also that in all times the Kings of *England* had assumed an Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters. *Ina*, *Alfred*, *Edgar*, and *Canutus*, had made many Laws about them: So had also most of the Kings since the Conquest, which appeared particularly in the Articles of *Clarendon*, and the Contests that followed upon them; and from the Days of King *Ina*, they had granted Exemptions to Monasteries from the Episcopal Jurisdiction, down to *William* the Conqueror's time: Besides many other Acts that clearly imported a Supremacy over all Persons, and in all Causes. But they did at the same time so explain and limit this Power, that it was visible they did not intend to subject Religion wholly to the Pleasure of the King; for it was declared that his Power was only a Coercive Authority, to defend

Book I. 1533.

the

Book I. the true Religion, to aboliſh Hereſies and Idolatries, to cauſe Biſhops and Paſtors to do their
1533. Duties, and in caſe they were negligent, or would not amend their Faults, to put others in their room. Upon the whole matter, they concluded that the Pope had no Power in *England*, and that the King had an intire Dominion over all his Subjects, which did extend even to the Regulating of Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

The Clergy ſubmitted to it,

Theſe things being fully opened in many Diſputes, and publiſhed in ſeveral Books, all the Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors of *England*, *Fiſher* only excepted, were ſo far ſatisfied with them, or ſo much in love with their Preferments, that they reſolved to comply with the Changes; which the King was reſolved to make. *Fiſher* was in great eſteem for Piety and ſtrictneſs of Life, and ſo, much pains was taken on him. A little before the Parliament met, *Cranmer* propoſed to him, that he, and any five Doctors he would chooſe, and *Stokeſly* with five on his ſide, ſhould confer on that Point, and examine the Authorities that were on both ſides; he accepted of it, and *Stokeſly* wrote to him to name time and place, but *Fiſher*'s Sickneſs hindred the progreſs of that Motion.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

The Parliament met the 15*th* of *January*, there were but Seven Biſhops and Twelve Abbots preſent, the reſt it ſeems were unwilling to concur in making this Change, tho' they complyed with it when it was made. Every Sunday during the Seſſion, a Biſhop preached at St. *Paul*'s, and declared that the Pope had no Authority in *England*: Before this, they had only ſaid, that a General Council was above him, and that the Exactions of that Court, and Appeals to it, were unlawful; but now they went a ſtrain

ſtrain higher, to prepare the People for receiving the Acts then in Agitation. On the *9th* of *March*, the Commons began the Bill for taking away the Pope's Power, and ſent it to the Lords on the 14*th*, who paſt it on the 20*th* without any diſſent. In it they ſet forth " The Exactions " the Court of *Rome*, grounded on the Popes Power of diſpenſing; and that as none could diſpenſe with the Laws of God; ſo the King and Parliament only had the Authority of diſpenſing with the Laws of the Land; and that therefore ſuch Licences or Diſpenſations as were formerly in uſe, ſhould be for the future granted by the two Archbiſhops, ſome of theſe were to be confirmed under the Great Seal; and they appointed that thereafter all Commerce with *Rome* ſhould ceaſe. They alſo declared that they did not intend to alter any Article of the Catholick Faith of Chriſtendom, or of that which was declared in the Scripture neceſſary to Salvation. They confirmed all the Exemptions granted to Monaſteries by the Popes, but ſubjected them to the King's Viſitation; and gave the King and his Council power to examine and reform all Indulgences, and Priviledges granted by the Pope: The Offenders againſt this Law were to be puniſhed according to the Statutes of *Præmunire*. This Act ſubjected the Monaſteries entirely to the King's Authority, and put them in no ſmall Confuſion. Thoſe that loved the Reformation, rejoyced both to ſee the Popes Power rooted out, and to find the Scripture made the Standard of Religion.

1533.

The Popes Power taken away.

After this Act, another paſt in both Houſes in ſix Days time, without any Oppoſition, " Setting the Succeſſion of the Crown; confirming the

The Act of the Succeſſion.

Book I. 1533. "the Sentence of Divorce, and the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*, and declaring all "Marriages within the Degrees prohibited by "*Moſes* to be unlawful: All that had married "within them were appointed to be Divorced; "and their Iſſue illegitimated; and the Succeſſion to the Crown was ſettled upon the "King's Iſſue by the preſent Queen, or in default of that, to the King's right Heirs, for "ever. All were required to Swear to maintain the Contents of this Act; and if any "refuſed to Swear to it, or ſhould ſay any "thing to the Slander of the King's "Marriage, he was to be judged guilty of "miſpriſion of Treaſon, and to be puniſhed accordingly. The Oath is alſo ſet down in the Journals of the Houſe of Lords; by which, they did not only Swear Obedience to the King, and his Heirs, by his preſent Marriage; but alſo to defend the Act of Succeſſion, and all the Effects and Contents in it, againſt all manner of Perſons whatſoever; by which they were bound to maintain the Divorce, both againſt the Pope's Cenſures, and the Emperour, if he went about to execute them.

An Act regulating the proceedings againſt Hereticks.

At this time, one *Philips* complained to the Houſe of Commons of the Biſhop of *London*, for uſing him cruelly in Priſon, upon Suſpicion of *Hereſy*; the Commons ſent up this to the Lords, but received no Anſwer: ſo they ſent ſome of their Members to the Biſhop, deſiring him to anſwer the Complaints put in againſt him: But he acquainted the Houſe of Lords with it; and they all with one conſent voted, That none of their Houſe ought to appear, or to anſwer any Complaint at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons. So the Commons let this particular Caſe fall, and ſent up

up a Bill to which the Lords agreed, regulating the Proceedings againſt Hereticks, "That "whereas, by the Statute made by King *Hen-* "*ry* the Fourth, Biſhops might commit Men "upon Suſpicion of *Hereſy*; and Hereſy was "generally defined, to be whatever was "contrary to the Scriptures, or *Canonical* "*Sanctions*, which was liable to great Am- "biguity; therefore that Statute was repealed, "and none were to be committed for Hereſy, but "upon a Preſentment made by two Witneſſes: "None were to be accuſed for ſpeaking againſt "things that were grounded only upon the "Pope's Canons. Bail was to be taken for He- "reticks, and they were to be brought to their "Tryals in open Court; and if upon Conviction, "they did not Abjure, or were Relapſes, they "were to be burnt; the King's Writ being "firſt obtained. This was a great check to the Biſhops Tyranny, and gave no ſmall comfort to all that favoured the Reformation. Book I. 1534.

The Convocatioh ſent in a Submiſſion at the ſame time, by which they acknowledged, That all Convocations ought to be aſſembled by the King's Writ; and promiſed upon the *Word of Prieſts*, never to make, nor execute any Canons, without the King's Aſſent. They alſo deſired, That ſince many of the received Canons were found to be contrary to the King's Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land, there might be a Committee named by the King, of 32, the one half out of both Houſes of Parliament, and the other of the Clergy, Impowered to abrogate or regulate them, as they ſhould ſee Cauſe. This was confirmed in Parliament, and the Act againſt Appeals to *Rome* was renewed; and an Appeal was allowed from the Archbiſhop to the King, upon

The Submiſſion of the Clergy.

Book I. upon which the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commiſſion for a Court of Delagates. A Proviſo was added, that till the Committee of 32 ſhould ſettle a Regulation of the Canons, thoſe then in force ſhould ſtill take place, except ſuch as were contrary to the King's Prerogative, or the Laws. But this laſt Proviſo, tho' it ſeemed reaſonable to give the Spiritual Courts ſome Rules, till the 32 ſhould finiſh their Work, made, that it came to nothing; for it was thought more for the Greatneſs of the King's Authority; and it ſubjected the Biſhops Courts more to the Prohibitions of the Temporal Courts, to keep this whole matter in ſuch General Terms, than to have brought it to a Regulation that ſhould be fixed and conſtant.

1534.

An Act for the Election of Biſhops.

" Another Act paſt for Regulating the Elections and Conſecrations of Biſhops; condemning all Bulls from *Rome*; and appointing that upon a Vacancy, the King ſhould grant a Licence for an Election; and ſhould by a miſſive Letter ſignify the Perſon's Name whom he would have choſen: And within Twelve Days after theſe were delivered, the Dean and Chapter, or Prior and Convent, were required to return an Election of the Perſon named by the King, under their Seals. The Biſhop Elect was upon that to Swear Fealty: and a Writ was to be Iſſued out for his Conſecration in the uſual manner: After that, he was to do Homage to the King, upon which, both the Temporalities, and Spiritualities, were to be reſtored, and Biſhops were to exerciſe their Juriſdiction as they had done before. All that tranſgreſſed this Act, were made guilty of a *Præmunire*.

A private Act past, depriving Cardinal *Campegio*, and *Jerome de Ghinuccii* of the Bishopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*; the Reasons given for it, are, because they did nor reside in their Dioceſſes, for Preaching the Laws of God, and keeping Hospitality, but lived at the Court of *Rome*, and carried *Three thousand Pounds* a Year out of the Kingdom. Book I. 1534.

The last Act of a publick Nature, tho' relating only to private Persons, of which I shall give an account, was concerning the Nun of *Kent*, and her Complices: It was the first occasion of shedding any Blood in this Quarrel, and it was much cherished by all the Superstitious Clergy, that adhered to the Queen's Interests, and the Pope's. The Nun, and many of her Complices, came to the Lords Bar, and confessed the whole matter. Among the Concealers of this Treason, Sir *Thomas More* and *Fisher*, were named; the former wrote upon that a long Letter to *Cromwell*, giving him a particular account of all the Conversation he had at any time with the Nun: He acknowledged he had esteemed her highly, not so much out of any regard he had to her Prophecies, but for the Opinion he conceived of her Holiness and Humility. But he adds, that he was then convinced, *That she was the most false dissembling Hypocrite that had been known; and guilty of most detestable Hypocrisy, and devillish dissembled* Falshood: *He also believed that she had Communication with an evil Spirit.* Concerning this Letter, a curious Discovery has been made. In Queen *Mary*'s time, *More*'s Works were publish'd and among them, other Letters of his to *Cromwell*, relating to that long one which he wrote concerning the Nun, were printed; but that was left out, of which *More* kept a Copy, and gave

The Attainder of the Nun of *Kent*.

Book I. 1534. it to his Daughter *Roper*; that Copy was in the MS. out of which the reſt were publiſhed, and out of that I have tranſcribed it. The deſign of ſuppreſſing it, ſeems to be this: It is probable, there might have been ſome thoughts in Queen *Mary*'s time, to Canonize the Nun, ſince ſhe was called a Martyr for her Mother's Marriage; and there was no want of Miracles to juſtify it: Therefore, a Letter ſo plain and full againſt her, was thought fit to be kept out of the way. This Juſtification of *More*'s, prevailed ſo far, that his Name was ſtruck out of the Bill. The Act contains a Narative of that whole Story, which is in ſhort, this;

Elizabeth Barton of *Kent*, fell in ſome Trances, (it ſeems they were Hyſterical Fits) and ſpake ſuch things as made thoſe about her think ſhe was Inſpired of God. The Parſon of the Pariſh, *Maſter*, hoping to draw Advantages from this, gave Archbiſhop *Warham* notice of it, who ordered him to obſerve her carefully, and bring him an account of what ſhould follow. But ſhe had forgot all that ſhe ſaid in her Fits, when they were over: Yet the Prieſt would not let it go ſo, but perſwaded her that ſhe was Inſpired, and taught her ſo to counterfeit thoſe Trances, that ſhe became very ready at it. The matter was much noiſed about; and the Prieſt intended to raiſe the credit of an Image of the B. Virgin's that was in his Church, that ſo Pilgrimages and Offerings might be made to it, by her means. He aſſociated to himſelf one *Bocking*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, and they taught her to ſay in her Fits, that the B. *Virgin* appeared to her, and told her, ſhe could not be well till ſhe viſited that Image. She ſpake many good Words againſt ill Life, and ſpake alſo againſt

againſt *Hereſy*, and the King's Suit of Divorce then depending; and by many ſtrange motions of her Body, ſhe ſeemed to be inwardly poſſeſſed. A Day was ſet for her Cure; and before an Aſſembly of Two thouſand People, ſhe was carried to that Image; and after ſhe had acted her Fitts all over, ſhe ſeemed of a ſudden quite recovered, which was aſcribed to the Interceſſion of the Virgin, and the Virtue of that Image. She entred into a Religious Life; and *Bocking* was her Ghoſtly Father. There was violent Suſpicions of Incontinence between them; but the eſteem ſhe was in, bore them down. Many thought her a Propheteſs; and *Warham* among the reſt. A Book was alſo written of her Revelations, and a Letter was ſhewed all in Letters of Gold; pretended to be writ to her from Heaven, by *Mary Magdalene*. She pretended, that when the King was laſt at *Calais*, ſhe was carried inviſibly beyond Sea, and brought back again, and that an Angel gave her the Sacrament; and that God revealed to her, that if the King went on in his Divorce, and married another Wife, he ſhould fall from his Crown, and not live a Month longer, *but ſhould die a Villain's Death.*

Book I. 1534.

Many of the Monks of the Charter-Houſe, and the Obſervant Friers, with many Nuns, and B. *Fiſher*, came to give credit to this, and ſet a great value on her, and grew very Inſolent upon it; for Frier *Peyto* preaching in the King's Chappel, at *Greenwich*, denounced the Judgments of God upon him, and ſaid, tho' others as lying Prophets deceived him, yet he in the Name of God told him, that *Dogs ſhould lick his Blood as they had done* Ahabs. The King bore this patiently; but ordered one Dr. *Corren* to preach next Sunday and to anſwer all that he had ſaid, who railed

alias *Curwin*.

Book I. 1534. againſt *Peyto*, as a Dog and a Traytor. *Peyto* had gone to *Canterbury*, but *Elſton*, a Franciſcan of the ſame Houſe, interrupted him, and called him one of the lying Prophets that went about to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion of the Crown by Adultery; and ſpoke with ſuch Vehemence, that the King himſelf was forced to command him ſilence. And yet ſo unwilling was the King to go to Extremities, that all that was done upon ſo high a Provocation, was, that they were called before the Council, and rebuked for their Inſolence. But the Nun's Confederates publiſhing her Revelations in all the parts of the Kingdom, ſhe and Nine of her Complices were apprehended in *November* laſt Year; and they did all, without any Rack or Torture, diſcover the whole Conſpiracy, and upon that, were appointed to go to St. *Paul*'s; and after a Sermon preached upon that Occaſion, by the Biſhop of *Bangor*, they repeated their Confeſſion in the Hearing of the People; and were ſent to ly Priſoners in the *Tower*. But it was given out, That all was extorted from them by Violence; and Meſſages were ſent to the *Nun*, deſiring her to deny all that ſhe had confeſſed; which made the King judge it neceſſary to proceed to further Extremeties. So ſhe, and Six of her chief Complices, were Attainted of Treaſon: And the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Five more, were Attainted of Miſpriſion of Treaſon. But at the Interceſſion of Q. *Anne*, (as it is expreſt in the Act) all others that had been concerned with her, were pardoned.

Capon.

Fiſher.

This was as black an Impoſture as any ever was; and if it had fallen out in a darker Age, in which the World went mad after Viſions, the King might have loſt his Crown by it. The Diſcovery

Diſcovery of this, diſpoſed all to look on older Stories of the Trances of Monaſtical People, as Contrivances to ſerve baſe ends, and did make way for the ruin of that Order of Men in *England*; but all that was at preſent done upon it, was, that the Obſervants were put out of their Houſes, and mixt with the other *Franciſcans*, and the *Auſtin* Friers were put in their rooms. When all theſe Acts were paſſed, the King gave his Aſſent to them on the 29*th* of *March*, and Prorogued the Parliament till *November*. Book I. 1534

The Members of both Houſes Swore to the Oath of Succeſſion on the Day of the Prorogation. On the 20*th* of *April*, followed the Execution of the *Nun* and her Complices at *Tyburn*, where ſhe freely acknowledged her Impoſtures, and the Juſtice of the Sentence, and laid the blame on thoſe who ſuffered with her; who becauſe the thing was profitable to them, praiſed her much, and tho' they knew that all was feigned, yet gave out that it was done by the working of the Holy Ghoſt; and ſhe concluded her Life, begging both God's and the King's pardon. Upon the firſt Diſcovery of this Cheat, *Cromwell* ſent *Fiſher*'s Brother to him to reprove him for his Carriage in that Buſineſs, and to adviſe him to ask the King's Pardon for the Encouragement he had given to the *Nun*, which he was confident the King would grant him. But *Fiſher* excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, he had done nothing but only tried whether her Revelations were true or not? He confeſſed that upon the Reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high Opinion of her; and that he had never diſcovered any Falſhood in her. It is true, ſhe had ſaid ſome things to him concerning the King's Death, which he had not revealed, but he thought it was

The Oath of Succeſſion Sworn.

Fiſher in ſome Trouble.

Book I. not neceſſary to do it; becauſe he knew ſhe had told it to the King her ſelf: She had named no
1534. Perſon, that ſhould kill the King, but had only denounced it as a Judgment of God on him; and he had reaſon to think that the King would have been offended with him if he had ſpoken of it to him; and ſo he deſired to be no more troubled with that matter. But upon that, *Cromwell* wrote him a ſharp Letter; he ſhewed him that he had proceeded raſhly in that Affair; being ſo partial in the matter of the King's Divorce, that he eaſily believed every thing that ſeemed to make againſt it; he ſhewed him how neceſſary it was to uſe great Caution before extraordinary things ſhould be received, or ſpread about as Revelations; ſince otherwiſe the Peace of the World ſhould be in the Hands of every bold or crafty Impoſtor; yet in concluſion, he adviſes him again to ask the King's Pardon for his raſhneſs, and he aſſures him that the King was ready to forgive that and every thing elſe, by which he had offended him. But *Fiſher* was obſtinate and would make no Submiſſion, and ſo was included within the Act, yet it was not executed till a new Provocation drew him into further Trouble. The Secular and Regular Clergy did every where Swear the Oath of Succeſſion; which none did more zealouſly promote than *Gardiner*, who before the *6th* of *May* got all his Clergy to Swear it: And the Religious Orders being apprehenſive of the King's Jealouſies of them, took care to remove them, by ſending in Declarations under the Seals of their Houſes, That in their Opinion the King's preſent Marriage was Lawful, and that they would always acknowledge him *Head of the Church of* England; that the Biſhop of *Rome* had no Authority

And is very obſtinate.

thority out of his own Dioceſs, and that they would continue obedient to the King, notwithſtanding his Cenſures; that they would preach the Goſpel ſincerely according to the Scriptures, and the Tradition of the Catholick Doctors, and would in their Prayers pray for the King as Supream Head of the Church of *England*. Book I. 1534.

A meeting of the Council ſate at *Lambeth*, to which many were cited in order to the Swearing the Oath; among whom was Sir *Thomas More* and *Fiſher*. *More* was firſt called on to take it: He anſwered, that he neither blamed thoſe that made the Acts, nor thoſe that Swore the Oath, and that he was willing to Swear to maintain the Succeſſion to the Crown, but could not take the Oath as it was conceived. *Fiſher* made the ſame Anſwer, but all the reſt that were cited before them, took it. *More* was much preſſed to give his Reaſons againſt it; but he refuſed to do that, for it might be called a diſputing againſt Law: Yet he would put them into Writing if the King would command him to do it. *Cranmer* ſaid, if he did not blame thoſe that took it, it ſeems he was not perſwaded it was a Sin, and ſo was only doubtful of it; but he was ſure he ought to obey the Law, if it was not ſinful; ſo there was a Certainty on the one hand, and only a Doubt on the other; and therefore the former ought to determine him: This he confeſſed did ſhake him a little, but he ſaid, he thought in his Conſcience, that it would be a Sin in him, and offered to take his Oath upon that, and that he was not led by any other Conſideration. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter* told him, he ought to think his Conſcience was miſled, ſince the Parliament was of another Mind; an Argument well becoming a rich ignorant Abbot. But *More* ſaid, if the Parliament of *England*

More and *Fiſher* refuſe the Oath.

Book I. *land* was againſt him, yet he believed all the reſt of Chriſtendom was on his ſide: In concluſion,
1534. both he and *Fiſher* declared that they thought it was in the Power of the Parliament to ſettle the Succeſſion to the Crown, and ſo was ready to Swear to that, but they could not take the Oath that was tendred to them; for by it they muſt Swear to maintain all the Contents in the Act or Succeſſion, and in it the King's former Marriage was declared unlawful; to which they could not aſſent. *Cranmer* preſs'd that this might be accepted: For if they once Swore to maintain the Succeſſion, it would conduce much to the Quiet of the Nation; but ſharper Councils were more acceptable: So they were both committed to the *Tower*, and Pen, Ink, and Paper was kept from them. The old Biſhop was alſo hardly uſed both in his Cloaths and Diet; he had only Rags to cover him, and Fire was often denied him, which was a Cruelty not capable of any Excuſe, and was as barbarous as it was imprudent.

Another Seſſion of Parliament.

In Winter another Seſſion of Parliament was held; the firſt Act that paſſed, declared the King to be the *Supream Head on Earth of the Church of* England, and appointed that to be added to his other Titles; and it was enacted, That he and his Succeſſors ſhould have full Authority to reform all Hereſies and Abuſes in the Spiritual Juriſdiction. By another Act they confirmed the Oath of Succeſſion, which had not been ſpecified in the former Act, tho' agreed to by the Lords. They alſo gave the King the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, as being the Supream head of the Church; for the King being put in the Pope's room, it was thought reaſonable to give him the Annats, which

which the Popes had formerly exacted. The Temporalty were now willing to revenge themſelves on the Spiritualty, and to tax them as heavily as they had formerly tyrannized over them. Another Act paſt, declaring ſome things Treaſon; one of theſe was the denying the King any of his Titles, or the calling him Heretick, Schiſmatick, or Uſurper of the Crown. By another Act, Proviſion was made for ſetting up 26 Suffragan Biſhops over *England*, for the more ſpeedy Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and the better Service of God: It is alſo ſaid, they had been formerly accuſtomed to be in the Kingdom: The Biſhop of the Dioceſs was to preſent two to the King, and upon the King's declaring his choice, the Archbiſhop was to Conſecrate the Perſon, and then the Biſhop was to delegate ſuch parts of his Charge to his Care as he thought fitting, which was to laſt during his Pleaſure. Theſe were the ſame that the Ancients called the *Chorepiſcopi*, who were at firſt the Biſhops of ſome Villages; but were afterwards put under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of the next City. They were ſet up before the Council of *Nice*, and continued to be in the Church for many Ages; but the Biſhops devolving their whole Spiritual Power to them, they were put down, and a Decretal Epiſtle was forged in the Name of *P. Damaſus*, condemning them. The great extent of the Dioceſſes in *England* made it hard for one Biſhop to govern them with that Exactneſs that was neceſſary; theſe were therefore appointed to aſſiſt them in the diſcharge of the Paſtoral Care.

Book I. 1534.

In this Parliament Subſidies were granted, payable in three Years, with the higheſt Preamble of their Happineſs under the King's Govern-

ment

Book I. 1534. ment all those 24 Years, in which he had reigned, that Flattery could dictate. *Fisher* and *More* by two special Acts were attainted of Misprision of Treason; five other Clerks were in like manner condemned, all for refusing to Swear the Oath of Succession. The See of *Rochester* was declared Void; yet it seems few were willing to succeed such a Man, for it continued vacant two Years. This Severity against them was censured by some as Extream, since they were willing to Swear to the Succession in other Terms; so that it was meerly a point of Conscience, in which the common safety was not concerned, at which they stuck, and it was thought the prosecuting them in this manner would so raise their Credit, that it might endanger the Government more than any Opposition which they could make.

The progress the New Doctrines made in *England*.

But now that the King entred upon a new Scene, it will be necessary to open the Progress that the new Opinions had made in *England* all the time of the King's Suit of Divorce. During *Wolsey*'s Ministry, those Preachers were gently used; and it is probable the King ordered the Bishops to give over their enquiring after them, when the Pope began to use him ill; for the progress of Heresy was always reckoned up at *Rome* among the Mischiefs that would follow upon the Pope's denying the King's Desires. But *More* coming into Favour, he offered new Counsels, he thought the King's proceeding severely against Hereticks would be so meritorious at *Rome*, that it would work more effectually, than all his Threatnings had done: So a severe Proclamation was issued out both against their Books and Persons, ordering all the Laws against them to be put in execution. *Tindal* and some

ſome others at *Antwerp*, were every Year either tranſlating or writing Books againſt ſome of the received Errors, and ſending them over to *England*. But his Tranſlation of the New Teſtament gave the greateſt Wound, and was much complained of by the Clergy, as full of Errors. *Tonſtall*, then Biſhop of *London*, being a Man of great Learning and Vertue, which is generally accompanied with much Moderation, returning from the Treaty of *Cambray*, to which *More* and he were ſent in the King's Name, as he came through *Antwerp*, dealt with an Engliſh Merchant that was ſecretly a Friend of *Tindall*'s, to procure him as many of his New Teſtaments as could be had for Money. *Tindall* was glad of this; for being about a more correct Edition, he found he would be better enabled to ſet about it, if the Copies of the Old were ſold off; ſo he gave the Merchant all he had, and *Tonſtall* paying the price of them, got them in his Hands; and burnt them publickly in *Cheapſide*. This was called a burning of the Word of God; and it was ſaid, the Clergy had reaſon to revenge themſelves on it, for it had done them more Miſchief than all other Books whatſoever. But a Year after this, the ſecond Edition being finiſhed, great numbers were ſent over to *England*, and *Conſtantine*, one of *Tindall*'s Partners, hapned to be taken; ſo *More* believing that ſome of the Merchants of *London* furniſhed them with Money, promiſed him his Liberty, if he would diſcover who they were that encouraged and aſſiſted them: So he told him the Biſhop of *London* did more than all the World beſides, for he had bought up the greateſt part of a faulty Impreſſion. The Clergy when they condemned *Tindall*'s Tranſlation, promiſed a new one: But a

Book I. 1534.

Year

Book I. 1534. Year after in a long Condemnation of ſeveral Books that were publiſhed by *Warham*, *Tonſtall*, and other Canoniſts and Divines, they added this, that it was not neceſſary to publiſh the Scripture in Engliſh, and that the King did well not to ſet about it.

The Supplication of the Beggars. There came out a Book writ by one *Fiſh* of *Grays-Inn*, that took mightily, called, the *Supplication of the Beggars*, by which they complained that the Alms of the People were intercepted by the Mendicant Friers, that were an uſeleſs Burden to the Government; they alſo taxed the Pope of Cruelty, for taking no pity on the Poor, ſince none but thoſe that could pay for it, were delivered out of Purgatory. The King was ſo pleaſed with this, that he would not ſuffer any thing to be done againſt the Author. *More* anſwered it by another Supplication in behalf of the Souls in Purgatory, ſetting forth the Miſeries they were in, and the Relief which they received by the Maſſes that were ſaid for them, and therefore they called on their Friends to ſupport the Religious Orders, that had now ſo many Enemies. This was elegantly and wittily written, but did not take ſo much as the other; for ſuch is the ill nature of Mankind, that Satyrs are always better received than Apologies, and no Satyrs are more acceptable than thoſe againſt Church-men.

Frith writes againſt Purgatory. *Frith* anſwered *More* in a Book more gravely written, in which he ſhewed that there was no mention made of Purgatory in the Scripture; that it was inconſiſtent with the Merits of Chriſt, by which upon ſincere Repentance, all Sins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be puniſhed: And tho' Temporary Judgments, either as Medicinal Corrections, or

for

for giving Warning to others, do ſometimes fall even on true Penitents; yet terrible Puniſhments in another ſtate, cannot conſiſt with a free Pardon, and the remembring of our Sins no more. In expounding many Paſſages of the New Teſtament, he appealed to *More*'s great Friend, *Eraſmus*; and ſhewed, That the *Fire* which was ſpoken of by St. *Paul*, as that which would conſume *the Wood*, *Hay*, *and Stubble*, could only be meant of the fiery Trial of Perſecution. He ſhewed, That the Primitive Church received it not; *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, and *Auſtin* did not believe it; the laſt had plainly ſaid, that no mention was made of it in Scripture. The Monks brought it in; and by many wonderful Stories, poſſeſſed the World of the belief of it; and had made a very gainful Trade of it. This Book provoked the Clergy ſo much, that they reſolved to make the Author feel a real Fire, for endeavouring to extinguiſh their Imaginary one. *More* objected Poverty, and want of Learning to the new Preachers: But it was anſwered, The ſame thing was made uſe of to diſgrace Chriſt and his Apoſtles; but a plain Simplicity of Mind without Artificial Improvements, was thought rather a good Diſpoſition for Men that were to bear a Croſs; and the Glory of God appeared more eminently, when the Inſtruments ſeemed contemptible.

Book I. 1533.

A Perſecution ſet on by *More*.

But the Pen proving too feeble, and too gentle a Tool, the Clergy betook themſelves to that, on which they relied more: Many were vexed with Impriſonments for teaching their Children the Lord's Prayer in Engliſh, for harbouring the Preachers, and for ſpeaking againſt the Corruptions in the Worſhip, or the Vices of the Clergy; but theſe generally Abjured. One *Hitton*,

Book I. *Hitton*, that had been a Curate, and went over to *Tindall*, was taken coming back with some Books; and was by *Warham* condemned and burnt.

1530. *Bilney's Martyrdom.* *Bilney*, after his Abjuration formerly mentioned, returned to *Cambridge*, and fell under great horrour of Mind; but overcame it, and resolved to expiate his Apostacy by a publick Acknowledgment: And that he might be able to do that on surer Grounds, he followed his Studies close two Years; but then he left the University, and went into *Norfolk* where he was born, and preached up and down that County, against Idolatry and Superstition: Exhorting the People to live well, to give much Alms, to believe in Christ, and to offer up their Souls and Wills to him in the Sacrament: He openly confessed his own Sin of denying the Faith; and using no Precaution as he went about, he was taken by the Bishop's Officers, and was condemned as a Relapse, and degraded. *More* not only sent down the Writ to burn him, but to make him suffer another way; he affirmed in Print that he had Abjured: But no Paper signed by him was ever shewed, and little credit was due to the Priests who gave it out, that he did it by word of Mouth: But *Parker* (afterwards Archbishop) was an Eye-witness of his Sufferings. He bore all the Hardships he was put to, patiently; and continued very cheerful after his Sentence; and eat up the poor Provision that was brought him, heartily; for he said, he must keep up a ruinous Cottage till it fell. He had those words often in his Mouth, *When thou walkest thorow the Fire, thou shalt not be burnt*: And by burning his Finger in the Candle, he prepared himself for the Fire, and said, it would only consume

Isaiah.

ſume the Stubble of his Body, but would purify his Soul. Book I.

On the 10th of *November* he was burnt. At the Stake he repeated the Creed, to ſhew he was a true Chriſtian; for the Clergy made ſtrange Repreſentations of his Doctrine: Then he prayed earneſtly, and with a deep ſence repeated thoſe Words, *Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant.* Dr. *Warner* that waited on him, embraced him, ſhedding many Tears, and wiſhed that he might die in as good a ſtate as that in which he then was. The Friars defired him to declare to the People, that they had not procured his Death, and he did it; ſo the laſt Act of his Life was full of Charity to his Enemies. His Sufferings animated others. *Byfield* that had formerly abjured, was taken diſperſing *Tindall*'s Books, and he with one *Tewkſbury* were condemned by *Stokeſley*, and burnt. Two Men and a Woman were alſo burnt at *York*. Upon theſe Proceedings, the Parliament that ſate that Year, complained to the King; but that did not cool the Heat of the Clergy. One *Bainham* a Councellour of the Temple, was taken on Suſpicion of *Hereſy*, and whipt in *More*'s preſence, and afterwards rackt in the Tower: Yet he could not be wrought on to accuſe any, but through Fear he abjured. After that, being diſcharged, he was in great trouble of Mind, and could find no quiet till he went publickly to Church, and openly confeſſed his Sins; and declared the Torments he felt in his Conſcience, for what he had done. Upon this, he was again ſeized on, and condemned, for having ſaid, That *Thomas Becket* was a Murderer, and was damned, if he did not repent: And that in the Sacrament Chriſt's Body was received by Faith, and not chewed with the Teeth. 1530.

Sentence

Book I. Sentence paſt upon him by *Stokeſley*, and he was burnt. Soon after this, *More* delivered up the
1530. Great Seal, ſo the Preachers had ſome eaſe. *Crome* and *Latimer* were accuſed, but Abjured. *Tracy*, (Anceſtor to the preſent Lord *Tracy*) made a Will, by which he left his Soul to God, in hopes of Mercy through Chriſt, without the help of any other Saint; and therefore he declared, that he would leave nothing for Soul-Maſſes. This Will being brought to the Biſhop of *London*'s Court to be proved, after his Death, provoked them ſo much, that he was condemned as an Heretick; and an Order was ſent to the Chancellour of *Worceſter*, to raiſe his Body; but he went further, and burnt it, which could not be juſtified, ſince he was not a Relapſe. *Tracy*'s Heir ſued him for it, and he was turned out of his place, and fined in *Four hundred Pounds*. The Clergy proclaimed an Indulgence of forty Days Pardon to any that carried a Faggot to the burning of an Heretick, that ſo Cruelty might ſeem the more meritorious. And an aged Man *(Harding)* being condemned by *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, as he was tyed to the Stake, one flung a Faggot with ſuch force at him, that daſhed out his Brains.

1533. After an Intermiſſion of two Years, *Gardiner* repreſented to the King, That it would give him great Advantages againſt the Pope, if he would take hold of ſome occaſion to ſhew his hatred of *Hereſy*. So *Frith* ſeemed a fit Perſon to offer as a Sacrifice, to demonſtrate his Zeal: He was a Young Man, much famed for Learning: And was the firſt that writ againſt the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament, in *England*. He followed *Zuinglius*'s Doctrine on theſe Grounds; Chriſt received in the Sacrament, gave Eternal Life;

Frith's Sufferings.

Life; but this was given only to thoſe that be- Book I.
lieved; from which he inferred, that he was
received only by Faith. St. *Paul* ſaid, that the 1533.
Fathers before Chriſt eat the ſame Spiritual Food with Chriſtians; from which it appears, that Chriſt is now no more corporally preſent to us than he was to them: And he argued from the nature of Sacraments in general, and the ends of the Lord's Supper, that it was only a Commemoration. Yet upon theſe Premiſes, he built no other Concluſion but that Chriſt's Preſence was no Article of Faith. *Frith* put theſe Reaſons in Writing, which falling into *More*'s Hands, was anſwered by him; but *Frith* never ſaw that till he was put in Priſon: And then, tho' he was loaded with Irons, and had no Books allowed him, he replied. He inſiſted much on that Argument, That the *Iſraelites* did eat the ſame Food, and drank of the *ſame Rock, that was Chriſt*; and ſince Chriſt was only myſtically, and by Faith received by them; he concluded, that he was now received only by Faith. He ſhewed, that Chriſt's Words, *This is my Body*, were accommodated to the Jewiſh Phraſe of calling the Lamb *the Lord's Paſſover*; and confirmed his Opinion with many Paſſages out of the Fathers: In which, the Elements were called *Signs* and *Figures* of Chriſt's Body; and they ſaid, that upon Conſecration they did not ceaſe to be Bread and Wine, *but remained ſtill in their own proper* Natures. He alſo ſhewed, That the Fathers were Strangers to all the Conſequences of that Opinion, as that a Body could be in more places than one at once, or could be in a place after the manner of a Spirit: Yet he concluded, That if that Opinion were held only as a Speculation; ſo that Adoration were not offered to the Ele-

Book I. ments, it might be well tollerated, but that he condemned as groſs Idolatry. This was intended
1533. by him to prevent ſuch Heats in *England*, as were raiſed in *Germany*, between the *Lutherans* and *Helvetians*, by reaſon of their different Opinions concerning the Sacrament. He was ſeized on in *May* 1533, and brought before *Stokeſley*, *Gardiner*, and *Longland*. They objected to him his not believing Purgatory nor Tranſubſtantiation: He gave his Reaſons that determined him to look on neither of theſe as Articles of Faith; but he thought that neither the affirming nor denying them ought to be determined poſitively. The Biſhops ſeemed unwilling to proceed to Sentence; but he continuing reſolute, *Stokeſley* pronounced it; and ſo delivered him to the Secular Arm, obteſting, that his Puniſhment might be moderated, ſo that the Rigour might not be too extream; nor yet the gentleneſs of it too much mitigated. This Obteſtation by the Bowels of Chriſt, was thought a Mockery; when all the World knew that it was intended that he ſhould be burnt. One *Hewit*, a Prentice of *London*, was alſo condemned with him, on the ſame account. When they were brought to *Smithfield*, *Frith* expreſſed great Joy, and hugg'd the Faggots with ſome tranſport: *Cook*, a Prieſt, that ſtood by, called to the People not to pray for them more than they would do for a Dog. *Frith* ſmiled at that, and prayed God to forgive him: The Fire was kindled, which conſumed them to Aſhes. This was the laſt Inſtance of the Cruelty of the Clergy at this time; for the Act formerly mentioned, regulating their Proceedings, followed ſoon after. *Philips*, at whoſe Complaint, that Bill was begun, was committed upon Suſpicion of Hereſy; a Copy of *Tracy*'s Will was found about him,

him, and Butter and Cheese were also found in his Chamber in Lent: But he being required to abjure, appealed to the King as *Supream Head*, and upon that he was set at liberty; but whether he was tried by the King or not, is not upon Record. Book I. 1533.

The Act that past, gave the new Preachers and their wers, some Respite. The King was also wered to reform all Heresies, and Idolatri: And his Affairs did now oblige him to unite himself to the Princes of *Germany*, that by their means, he might so imbroil the Emperour's Affairs, as not to give him leisure to turn his Arms against *England*; and this produced a slackning of all Severeties against them: For those Princes, in that first fervour of the Reformation, made it an Article in all their Treaties, that none should be persecuted for favouring their Doctrine. The Queen did also openly protect them; she took *Latimer*, and *Shaxton* to be her Chaplains, and promoted them to the Bishopricks of *Worcester*, and *Salisbury*. *Cranmer* was fully convinced of the necessity of a Reformation, and that he might carry it on with true Judgment, and justify it by good Authorities, he made a great Collection of the Opinions of the Ancient Fathers, and later Doctors, in all the Points of Religion; of which I have seen two Volumes in Folio: But by a Letter of the Lord *Burleigh*'s, it appears, there were then six Volumes of his Collections in his Hands. He was a Man of great Candor, and much Patience and Industry; and so was on all Accounts well prepared for that Work, to which the Providence of God did now call him: And tho' he was in some things too much subject to the King's Imperious Temper, yet in the matter of the Six Articles, he shewed that he wanted not

A stop put to further Cruelties.

The Interest the Reformers had at Court.

Book I. the Courage that became a Biſhop in ſo Critical an Affair as that was. *Cromwell* was his great and conſtant Friend; a Man of mean Birth, but of excellent Qualities, as appeared in his adhering to his Maſter *Wolſey*, after his fall; a rare Demonſtration of Gratitude in a Court, to a diſgraced Favourite: And in his greateſt height, he happening to ſee a Merchant of *Lucca* (who had pitied and relieved him when he was in *Italy*, but did not ſo much as know him, or pretend to any returns for the ſmall Favours he had formerly ſhewed him, and was then reduced to a low condition) treated him with ſuch Acknowledgments, that it became the Subject of ſeveral Pens, which ſtrove who ſhould celebrate it moſt.

1534.

Others oppoſe it much.

As theſe ſet themſelves to carry on a Reformation, there was another Party formed that as vigorouſly oppoſed it, headed by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Gardiner*; and almoſt all the Clergy went into it. They perſwaded the King that nothing would give the Pope or the Emperour ſuch Advantages, as his making any Changes in Religion; and it would reflect much on him, if he who had writ ſo Learnedly for the Faith, ſhould in ſpite to the Pope make any Changes in it. Nothing would encourage other Princes ſo much to follow his Example, nor keep his Subjects ſo much in their Duty to him, as his continuing ſtedfaſt in the Antient Religion. Theſe things made great Impreſſions on him. But on the other hand, *Cranmer* repreſented to him, that if he rejected the Pope's Authority, it was very abſurd to let ſuch Opinions or Practices continue in the Church, that had no other Foundation but Papal Decrees: And therefore he deſired that this might be put to the Trial, he ought to depend on God, and hope for good Succeſs

if

if he proceeded in this matter according to the Duty of a Christian Prince. *England* was a compleat Body within it self; and though in the *Roman* Empire, when united under one Prince, General Councils were easily assembled, yet now that was not to be so much depended on; but every Prince ought to reform the Church in his Dominions by a National Synod; and if in the Ancient Church such Synods condemned Heresies, and reformed Abuses, that might be much more done, when *Europe* was divided into so many Kingdoms. It was visible that tho' both the Emperour and the Princes of *Germany* had for 20 Years desired a General Council, it could not be obtained of the Pope; he had indeed offered one at *Mantua*, but that was only an Illusion. Book I. 1534.

Upon that, the King desired some of his Bishops to give their Opinion concerning the Emperour's Power of calling Councils: So *Cranmer*, *Tonstall*, *Clark* of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Goodrick* of *Ely*, made answer, That tho' Ancient Councils were called by the *Roman* Emperours, yet that was done by reason of the extent of their Monarchy, that was now ceased; but since, other Princes had an entire Monarchy within their Dominions. Yet if one or more of those Princes should agree to call a Council to a good Intent, and desire the Concurrence of the rest, they were bound by the Rule of Charity to agree to it: They were also of Opinion, that none but Bishops and Priests had Right to a definitive Voice in matters of Doctrine. The Opinion of some Bishops of a General Council.

Cranmer also made a long Speech at that time, setting forth the necessity of a Reformation. It is probable it was in the House of Peers, for it begins, *My Lords*— "He begun with the "Impo- Heads of a Speech of *Cranmer's*.

Book I. 1534. " Impoſtures and Deceit uſed by the Canoniſts " and other Courtiers at *Rome*. Then he ſpake " to the Authority of a General Council; he " ſhewed that it flowed not from the Number of " the Biſhops, but from the Matter of their De- " ciſions, which were received with an Univer- " ſal Conſent, for there were many more Bi- " ſhops at the Council of *Arimini*, which was " condemned, than either at *Nice* or *Conſtanti- " nople*, which were received. Chriſt had na- " med no Head of the whole Church, as God " had named no Head of the World; but that " grew up for Order's ſake, as there were Arch- " biſhops ſet over Provinces; yet ſome Popes " were condemned for Hereſy, as *Liberius*, and " others. If Faith muſt be ſhewed by Works, " the ill Lives of moſt Popes of late ſhewed, " that their Faith was to be ſuſpected; and all " the Priviledges which Princes or Synods grant- " ed to that See might be recalled. Popes " ought to ſubmit themſelves to General Coun- " cills, and were to be tried by them; he ſhewed " what were the preſent Corruptions of the " Pope and his Court, which needed Reforma- " tion. The Pope, according to the Decree " of the Council of *Baſil*, was the Church's Vi- " car, and not Chriſt's; and ſo was accounta- " ble to it. The Churches of *France* declared " the Council to be above the Pope, which had " been acknowledged by many Popes them- " ſelves. The Power of Councils had alſo " Bounds, nor could they judge of the Rights " of Princes, or proceed to a Sentence againſt a " King; nor were their Canons of any force till " Princes added their Sanctions to them. Coun- " cils ought alſo to proceed moderately, even " againſt thoſe that held Errors, and ought not

" to

" to impose things indifferent too severely. The Book I.
" Scriputres, and not Mens Traditions, ought
" to be the Standards of their Definitions. The 1534.
" Divines of *Paris* held, That a Council could
" not make a new Article of Faith that was not
" in the Scriptures; and all Christ's Promises
" to the Church were to be understood with this
" condition, *if they kept the Faith:* Therefore
" there was great reason to doubt concerning the
" Authority of a Council, some of them had
" contradicted others, and many others were
" never received. The Fathers had always ap-
" pealed to the Scriptures, as Superiour in Au-
" thority to Councils, by which only all Contro-
" versies ought to be decided; yet on the other
" hand, it was dangerous to be wise in one's own
" Conceit, and he thought when the Fathers all
" agreed in the Exposition of any place of Scri-
" pture, that ought to be look'd on as flowing
" from the Spirit of God. He shewed how lit-
" tle Regard was to be had to a Council, in
" which the Pope presided, and that if any com-
" mon Error had past upon the World, when
" that came to be discovered, every one was at
" liberty to shake it off, even tho' they had
" Sworn to maintain that Error: This he ap-
" plied to the Pope's Authority. In conclusion,
he promised to entertain them with another Dis-
course of the Authority that all Bishops had in
their Sees, and that Princes had within their Do-
nions. But I could never recover that, and pro-
bably it is lost.

This was the state of the Court after King *Henry* had shaken off the Pope's Power, and as-sumed a Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs. The Nobility and Gentry were generally well satis-fied with the Change; but the Body of the Peo-

The state of *England.*

Book I. ple was more under the Power of the Priests; and they studied to infuse in them great Fears of
1534. a Change in Religion. It was said the King was now joyning himself to Hereticks, that both the Queen, *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* favoured them. It was left free to dispute what were Articles of Faith, and what were only the Decrees of Popes; and Changes would be made under this Pretence, That they only rejected those Opinions which were supported by the Papal Authority. The Monks and Friers saw themselves left at the King's Mercy. Their Bulls could be no longer useful to them. The Trade of new Saints, or Indulgences, was now at an end; they had also some intimations that *Cromwell* was forming a Project for suppressing them; so they thought it necessary for their own Preservation to imbroil the King's Affairs, as much as was possible; therefore both in Confessions and Discourses, they were infusing into the People a dislike of the King's Proceedings, and this did so far work on them, that if the Emperour's Affairs had been in such a condition, that he could have made War on the King, he might have done it with great Advantage; and found a strong Party in *England* on his side. But the Practices of the Clergy at home, and of Cardinal *Pool* abroad, the Libels that were published, and the Rebellions that were afterwards raised in *England*, wrought so much on the King's Temper, that was naturally imperious and boisterous, that he became too apt to commit Acts of the highest Severity, and to bring his Subjects into Trouble upon the slightest Grounds; and his new Title of Head of the Church, seemed to have increased his former Vanity, and made him fancy that all his Subjects were bound to regulate their Belief by the

the Measures he set them. He had now Reigned Book I.
Twenty five Years, in all which time none had
suffered for Crimes against the State, but *Pool* 1534.
Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*; (the former was executed in Obedience to his Father's last Commands; the latter fell by Cardinal *Wolsey*'s Malice; he had also been inveigled by a Priest to imagine he had a Right to the Crown) but in the last Ten Years of his Life, Instances of Severity returned more frequently. The Bishops and Abbots did what they could to free the King of any Jealousies that might be raised in him concerning them; and of their own accord, before any Law was made about it, they Swore to maintain the King's Supremacy. The first Act of it was the making *Cromwell* Vicar General, and Visitor of all the Monasteries and Churches of *England*, with a Delegation of the King's Supremacy to him; he was also impowered to give Commissions subaltern to himself, and all Wills, where the Estate was in Value above *Two hundred Pounds*, were to be proved in his Court. This was afterwards enlarged, and he was made the King's *Vicegerent* in Ecclesiastical Matters, and had the Precedence of all next the Royal Family; and his Authority was in all Points the same, that the Legates had in time of Popery: For as the King's came in the Pope's room; so the *Vicegerent* was what the Legates had been. Pains was taken to engage all the Clergy to declare for the Supremacy. At *Oxford* a publick Determination was made, to which every Member assented, That the Pope had no more Authority in *England* than any other Foreign Bishop. The *Franciscans* at *Richmond* made some more Opposition; they said, by the Rule of St. *Francis*, they were

bound

Book I. bound to obey the Holy See. The Bishop of *Litchfield* told them, That all the Bishops in *England*, all the Heads of Houses, and the most Learned Divines had signed that Proposition. St. *Francis* made his Rule in *Italy*, where the Bishop of *Rome* was Metropolitan, but that ought not to extend to *England*: And it was shewed that the Chapter cited by them, was not written by him, but added since; yet they continued positive in their refusal to sign it.

1535. Rowland Lee

A general Visitation propose.

It was well known that all the Monks and Friers, tho' they complied with the Time, yet they hated this new Power of the King's; the People were also startled at it; so one Dr. *Leighton*, that had been in the Cardinal's Service with *Cromwell*, proposed a General Visitation of all the Religious Houses in *England*: and thought that nothing would reconcile the Nation so much to the King's Supremacy, as to see some good Effect now flow from it. Others thought this was too hardy a Step, and that it would provoke the Religious Orders too much. Yet it was known that they were guilty of such Disorders, that nothing could so effectually keep them in awe as the enquiring into these. *Cranmer* led the way to this by a Metropolitical Visitation, for which he obtained the King's Licence; he took care to see that the Pope's Name was struck out of all the Offices of the Church, and that the King's Supremacy was generally acknowledged.

Instructions and Injunctions for it.

In *October* the General Visitation of the Monasteries was begun; which was cast into several Precincts: Instructions were given them, directing them what things to inquire after, as, Whether the Houses had the full Number according to their Foundation, and if they performed

formed Divine Worſhip in the appointed Hours; what Exemptions they had, what were their Statutes? How their Heads were choſen? And how their Vows were obſerved? Whether they lived according to the Severities of their Orders? How the Maſter and other Officers did their Duties? How their Lands and their Revenues were managed? What Hoſpitality was kept? And what care was taken of the Novices? What Benefices were in their Gift, and how they diſpoſed of them? How the Incloſures of the Nunneries were kept? Whether the Nuns went abroad, or if Men were admitted to come to them? How they imployed their time, and what Prieſts they had for their Confeſſors? They were alſo ordered to give them ſome Injunctions in the King's Name, That they ſhould acknowledge his Supremacy, and maintain the Act of Succeſſion, and declare all to be abſolved from any Rules or Oaths that bound them to obey the Pope; and that all their Statutes tending to that, ſhould be razed out of their Books. That the Abbots ſhould not have choice Diſhes, but plain Tables for Hoſpitality; and that the Scriptures ſhould be read at Meals; that they ſhould have Daily Lectures of Divinity; and maintain ſome of every Houſe at the Univerſity. The Abbots were required to Inſtruct the Monks in true Religion, and to ſhew them that it did not conſiſt in outward Ceremonies, but in Cleanneſs of Heart, and Purity of Life, and the Worſhipping of God in Spirit and Truth. Rules were given about their Revenues, and againſt admitting any under Twenty Years of Age. The Viſitors were impowered to Puniſh Offenders, or to bring them to anſwer before the Viſitor General.

Book I. 1535.

What

Book I. What the Ancient Britiſh Monks were is not well known; whether they were governed according to the rules of the Monks of *Egypt* or *France*, is matter of Conjecture. They were in all things obedient to their Biſhops, as all the Monks of the Primitive times were. But upon the Confuſions which the *Gothick* Wars brought upon *Italy*, *Benedict* ſet up a new Order with more Artificial Rules for its Government. Not long after *Gregory* the Great raiſed the Credit of that Order much, by his Books of Dialogues: and *Auſtin* the Monk being ſent by him to convert *England*, did found a Monaſtery at *Canterbury*, that carried his Name, which both the King and *Auſtin* exempted from the Arch-biſhop's Juriſdiction. But there is great reaſon to ſuſpect that moſt of thoſe Antient Charters were forged. After that, many other Abbies were founded and exempted by the Kings of *England*, if Credit is due to the Leiger Books or Chartularies of the Monaſteries. In the end of the eighth Century, the *Danes* made Deſcents upon *England*, and finding the moſt Wealth and the leaſt Reſiſtance in the Monaſteries, they generally plundred them, in ſo much that the Monks were forced to quit their Seats, and they left them to the Secular Clergy; ſo that in King *Edgar*'s time there was ſcarce a Monk left in all *England*. He was a leud and cruel Prince; and *Dunſtan* and other Monks taking Advantage from ſome horrours of Conſcience that he fell under, perſwaded him that the reſtoring the Monaſtick State, would be matter of great *Merit*; ſo he converted many of the Chapters into Monaſteries: and by the Foundation of the Priory of *Worceſter*, it appears he had then founded 47, and intended to raiſe them to 50, the number of Pardons; tho' the Inven-

1535. The State of the Monaſteries in *England*.

tion

tion of Jubilees being ſo much later, gives occaſion to believe this was alſo a Forgery. He only exempted his Monaſteries from all Payments to the Biſhops; but others were exempted from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction. In ſome only the Precinct was exempted, in others, the Exemptions was extended to all the Lands or Churches belonging to them. The lateſt exemption from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction granted by any King, is that of *Battel* founded by *William* the Conquerour: After this the Exemptions were granted by the Popes, who pretending to an Univerſal Juriſdiction, aſſumed this among other Uſurpations. Some Abbies had alſo the Priviledg of being Sanctuaries to all that fled to them. The Foundation of all their Wealth, was the belief of Purgatory, and of the Virtue that was in Maſſes to redeem Souls out of it; and that theſe eaſed the Torments of departed Souls, and at laſt delivered them out of them; ſo it paſt among all for a piece of Piety to Parents, and of care for their own Souls and Families, to endow thoſe Houſes with ſome Lands, upon condition that they ſhould have Maſſes ſaid for them, as it was agreed on more or leſs, frequently according to the meaſure of the Gift. This was like to have drawn in the whole Wealth of the Nation into thoſe Houſes, if the Statute of *Mortmain* had not put ſome reſtraint to that Superſtition. They alſo perſwaded the World, that the Saints interceeded for them, and would take it kindly at their hands, if they made great Offerings to their Shrines, and would thereupon intercede the more earneſtly for them. The credulous Vulgar meaſuring the Court of Heaven by thoſe on Earth, believed Preſents might be of great Efficacy there, and thought the new Favourites would

Book I. 1535.

Book I. 1535. would have the moſt Weight in their Interceſſions: So upon every new Canonization there was a new fit of Devotion towards the laſt Saint, which made the elder to grow almoſt out of requeſt. Some Images were believed to have an extraordinary Virtue in them, and Pilgrimages to theſe were much extolled. There was alſo great Rivalry among the ſeveral Orders, and different Houſes of the ſame Orders, every one magnifying their own Saints, their Images and Relicks moſt. The Wealth of theſe Houſes brought them under great Corruptions. They were generally very diſſolute and groſly ignorant. Their Priviledges were become a publick Grievance, and their Lives gave great Scandal to the World? So that, as they had found it eaſy to bear down the Secular Clergy, when their own Vices were more ſecret; the begging Friers found it as eaſy to carry the Eſteem of the World from them. Theſe under the appearance of Poverty, and courſe Diet and Cloathing, gained much Eſteem, and became almoſt the only Preachers and Confeſſors then in the World. They had a General at *Rome*, from whom they received ſuch Directions, as the Popes ſent them; ſo they were more uſeful to the Papacy than the Monks had been. They had alſo the School-Learning in their hands, ſo that they were generally much cheriſhed. But they living much in the World, could not conceal their Vices ſo artificially as the Monks had done; and tho' ſeveral Reformations had been made of their Orders, yet they had all fallen under great Scandal, and a general Diſeſteem. The King intended to erect new Biſhopricks; and in order to that, it was neceſſary to make uſe of ſome of their Revenues. He alſo apprehended a War from the Emperour,

Emperour, and for that end, he intended to fortify his Harbours, and to encourage Shipping and Trade; upon which the Ballance of the World began then to turn: And in order to that, he reſolved to make uſe of the Wealth of thoſe Houſes, and thought the beſt way to bring that into his hands, would be to expoſe their Vices, that ſo they might quite loſe the Eſteem they might yet be in with ſome, and ſo it might be leſs dangerous to ſuppreſs them. *Cranmer* promoted this much, both becauſe theſe Houſes were founded on groſs Abuſes, and ſubſiſted by them; and theſe were neceſſary to be removed, if a Reformation went on. The extent of many Dioceſſes was alſo ſuch, that one Man could not overſee them; ſo he intended to have more Biſhopricks founded, and to have Houſes at every Cathedral for the Education of thoſe who ſhould be imployed in the Paſtoral Charge. The Viſitors went over *England*, and found in many places, monſtrous Diſorders. The Sin of *Sodom* was found in many Houſes; great Factions and Barbarous Cruelties were in others; and in ſome, they found Tools for Coining. The Report contained many abominable things, that are not fit to be mentioned: Some of theſe were Printed, but the greateſt part is loſt; only a Report of 144 Houſes is yet extant. Book I. 1535.

The firſt Houſe that was ſurrendred to the King, was *Langden*, in *Kent*; the Abbot was found in Bed with a Whore, who went in the Habit of a Lay Brother: This perhaps made him more willing to give an Example to the reſt; ſo he and ten of his Monks, ſigned a Reſignation of their Houſe to the King. Two other Houſes in the ſame County, *Folkeſton*, and *Dover*, followed Some Houſes ſurendred.

Book I. lowed their Example. And in the following Year, four other Houſes made the like Surrenders: and theſe were all that I find before the Act of Parliament paſt, for ſuppreſſing the leſſer Monaſteries.

1536. Q. *Katherine* was put to much trouble, for keeping the Title, Queen, but bore it reſolutely, and ſaid, That ſince the Pope had judged that her Marriage was good, ſhe would die rather than do any thing in prejudice of it. Her Sufferings begat Compaſſion in the People; and all the Superſtitious Clergy ſupported her Intereſts zealouſly. But now her Troubles ended with her Life. She deſired to be buried among the Obſervant Friers, for they had ſuffered moſt for her. She ordered 500 Maſſes to be ſaid for her Soul; and that one of her Women ſhould go a Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Walſingham*, and give 200 Nobles on her way to the Poor. When ſhe found Death coming on her, as ſhe writ to the Emperour, recommending her Daughter to his Care: So ſhe writ to the King, with this Inſcription, *My dear Lord, King, and Husband.* She forgave him all the Injuries he had done her; and wiſh'd him to have regard to his Soul. She recommended her Daughter to his Care, and deſired him to be kind to her three Maids, and to pay her Servants a Years Wages; and ended thus, *mine Eyes deſire you above all things.* She died on the Eighth of *January*, at *Kimbolton*, in the 50*th* Year of her Age, 33 Years after ſhe came to *England.* She was a Devout and Exemplary Woman: She uſed to work with her own hands, and kept her Women at work with her. The Severities and Devotions that were known to her Prieſts, and her Alms-Deeds, joined to the Troubles ſhe fell in, begat a high Eſteem

Queen *Katherines* Death.

Esteem of her in all sorts of People. The King complained often of her Peevishness; but that was perhaps to be imputed, as much to the Provocations he gave her, as to the Sowrness of her Temper. He ordered her to be buried in the Abbey of *Peterborough*, and was somewhat touched with her Death. But Q. *Anne* did not carry this so decently as became a happy Rival. Book I. 1536.

In *February* a Parliament met, after a Prorogation of Fourteen Months. The Act impowering Thirty two to revise the Ecclesiastical Laws, was confirmed; but no time was limitted for finishing it, so it had no effect. The chief business of this Session, was the suppressing of the Monasteries, under *Two hundred Pounds* a Year. The Report the Visitors made was read in the two Houses, and disposed them to great easiness in this matter. The Act sets forth the great Disorders of those Houses, and the many unsuccessful Attempts that had been made to reform them; so the Religious that were in them, were ordered to be put into the greater Houses, where Religion was better observed, and the Revenues of them were given to the King. Those Houses were much richer than they seemed to be; for an Abuse that had run over *Europe*, of keeping the Rents of the Church at their first Rates; and instead of raising them, the exacting great Fines for the Incumbent, when the Leases were renewed, was so gross in those Houses, that some rated but at *Two hundred Pounds*, were in real value worth many Thousands. By another Act, a new Court was erected with the Title of *The Court of the Augmentations of the King's Revenue*, consisting of a Chancellor, a Treasurer, Ten Auditors, Seventeen Receivers, besides other Officers. The King was also im-

In Parliament, the lesser Monasteries suppressed.

Book I. powered to make new Foundations of ſuch of thoſe Houſes now ſuppreſſed, as he pleaſed, 1536. which were in all *Three hundred and ſeventy*, and ſo this Parliament, after ſix Years continuance, was now Diſſolved.

A Tranſlation of the Bible deſigned.

A Convocation ſate at this time, in which, a motion was made for Tranſlating the Bible into Engliſh, which had been promiſed when *Tindall*'s Tranſlation was condemned, but was afterwards laid aſide by the Clergy, as neither neceſſary nor expedient: So it was ſaid, that thoſe whoſe Office it was to teach People the Word of God, did all they could to ſuppreſs it. *Moſes*, the Prophets, and the Apoſtles, wrote in the Vulgar Tongue: Chriſt directed the People to ſearch the Scriptures; and as ſoon as any Nation was converted to the Chriſtian Religion, the Bible was Tranſlated into their Language; nor was it ever taken out of the Hands of the People, till the Chriſtian Religion was ſo corrupted, that it was not ſafe to truſt them with ſuch a *Book*, which would have ſo manifeſtly diſcovered thoſe Errours; and the Legends as agreeing better with thoſe Abuſes, were read inſtead of the Word of God. So *Cranmer* look'd on the putting the Bible in the Peoples Hands, as the moſt effectual means for promoting the Reformation; and therefore moved, that the King might be prayed to give order for it. But *Gardiner*, and all the other Party, oppoſed this vehemently. They ſaid, All the extravagant Opinions then in *Germany*, roſe from the indiſcreet uſe of the Scriptures. Some of thoſe Opinions were at this time diſſeminated in *England*, both againſt the Divinity, and Incarnation of Chriſt, and the uſefulneſs of the Sacraments, for which, Nineteen *Hollanders* had been burnt in *England* the

the former Year. It was therefore ſaid, That during theſe Diſtractions, the uſe of the Scriptures would prove a great Snare: So it was propoſed, that inſtead of them, there might be ſome ſhort Expoſition of the Chriſtian Religion put in the Peoples Hands, which might keep them in a certain Subjection to the King and the Church: But it was carried in the Convocation for the Affirmative. At Court, Men were much divided in this Point; ſome ſaid, if the King gave way to it, he would never be able after that to govern his People, and that they would break into many Diviſions. But on the other hand, it was ſaid, That nothing would make the Difference between the Pope's Power, and the King's Supremacy, appear more eminently, than if the one gave the People the free uſe of the Word of God; whereas the other had kept them in Darkneſs, and ruled them by a blind Obedience. It would be alſo a great mean to extinguiſh the Intereſt that either the Pope or the Monks had in *England*, to put the Bible in the Peoples Hands, in which it would appear, that the World had been long deceived by their Impoſtures, which had no Foundation in the Scriptures. Theſe Reaſons joyned with the Intereſt that the Queen had in the King, prevailed ſo far with him, that he gave order for ſetting about this with all poſſible haſte; and within Three Years the Impreſſion of it was finiſhed. At this time, the King was in ſome Treaty with the *German* Princes, not only for a League in Temporal Concerns, but likewiſe in matters of Religion. The King thought the *Germans* ſhould have in all things ſubmitted to him; and the Opinion he had of his own Learning, which was perhaps heightned

Book I. 1536.

Book I. a little with his new Title of *Head of the Church*, made him expect, that they ſhould in all Points
1536. comply with him. *Gardiner* was then his Ambaſſador in *France*, and diſwaded him much from any Religious League with them, as that which would alienate the World abroad, and his People at home from him.

Q. *Anne's* Fall. The Popiſh Party ſaw the Intereſt the Queen had in him, was the great Obſtacle of their Deſigns: She grew not only in the King's Eſteem, but in the Love of the Nation. The laſt Nine Months of her Life, ſhe gave above *Fourteen thouſand Pounds* in Alms to the Poor, and was much ſet on doing good. Soon after Queen *Katherine*'s Death, ſhe bore a dead Son, which was believed to have made ſome Impreſſion on the King's Mind. It was alſo conſidered, that now Queen *Katherine* being dead, the King might marry another, and be ſet right again with the Pope and the Emperour; And the Iſſue by any other Marriage would never be queſtioned; whereas, while Queen *Anne* lived, the ground of the Controverſy ſtill remained, and her Iſſue would be Illegitimated, her Marriage being null from the beginning, as they thought. With theſe Reaſons of State, the King's Affections joyned, for he was now in Love with *Jane Seymour*, whoſe humour was tempered in a mean, between the Gravity of Queen *Katherine*, and the Pleaſantneſs of Queen *Anne*. The Poor Queen uſed all poſſible Arts to re-inflame a dying Affection; but the King was changed, and inſtead of being wrought on by her Careſſes, he came to look on them as Artifices to cover ſome other Criminal Affection. Her Chearfulneſs was not always governed with Decency and Diſcretion: And her Brother's

ther's Wife being jealous of her Husband and Her, poſſeſſed the King with her own Apprehenſions, and filled his Head with many Stories, *Norris*, *Weſton*, and *Brereton* the King's Servants, and *Smeton* a Muſician; were obſerved to be particularly officious about her. Somewhat was pretended to have been ſworn by the Lady *Wyngfield* at her Death, that determined the King; but there is little light left to judge of that matter. The King was at Juſts at *Greenwich*, where it was reported, that he was diſpleaſed with the Queen, for letting her Handkercheif fall to one for wiping his Face; but this ſeems to be a Fiction: for a Parliament was ſummoned the day before that, and then it was reſolved to deſtroy her. The King left her, upon which ſhe was confined to her Chamber, and the five before mentioned were ſeized on, and ſent to the *Tower*, and the next day ſhe was carried thither. On the River, ſome Privy Councellors came to examine her; but ſhe made deep Proteſtations of her Innocence; and as ſhe landed at the *Tower*, ſhe fell down on her Knees, and prayed God ſo to aſſiſt her, as ſhe was free of the Crimes laid to her charge: After this ſhe fell into Fits of the Mother, ſometimes ſhe laughed, and at other times ſhe wept exceſſively: She was alſo devout and light by turns; and ſometimes ſhe ſtood upon her Vindication, and at other times ſhe confeſſed ſome Indiſcretions, which ſhe afterwards denied. All the People about her made the moſt of every Word that fell from her, and ſent it immediately to Court. The others that were impriſoned on her account, denied every thing, only *Smeton* confeſſed Leudneſs with her. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and others that came to examine her, made her believe that

Book I. 1536. *May* 1.

Book I. both *Norris* and *Smeton* had accuſed her; but tho' that was falſe, yet it had this Effect on her,
1536. that it made her confeſs that which did totally alienate the King from her. She acknowledged that ſhe had rallied *Norris*, that he waited for the King's Death, and then thought to have her, which tho' he denied, yet upon that ſhe fell out with him. She denied that *Smeton* was ever in her Chamber, but once when he came to play on the Virginals. She inſinuated as if he had made Love to her; for ſeeing him one day penſive, ſhe told him he muſt not expect that ſhe ſhould talk to him, ſince he was ſo mean a Perſon, and he anſwer'd, A look would ſerve him. She alſo ſaid *Weſton* had ſeemed jealous of *Norris*, for being oft in her Chamber, and had declared Love to her, upon which *ſhe defied him*. Whether theſe Confeſſions were real Truths, or the Effects of Imagination and Vapours, cannot be certainly determined at this diſtance. It is probable there had been ſome Levities in her Carriage that were not becoming.

All the Court was now turned againſt her, and ſhe had no Friend about the King but *Cranmer*; and therefore her Enemies procured an Order for him not to come to Court; yet he put all to hazard, and wrote the King a long Letter upon this Critical Juncture; "He acknowledg-
"ed that if the Things reported of the Queen
"were true, it was the greateſt affliction that
"ever befel the King, and therefore exhorted
"him to bear it with Patience and Submiſſion
"to the Will of God: he confeſſed, he never
"had a better Opinion of any Woman than of
"her; and that next the King, he was more
"bound to her, than to all Perſons living;
"and therefore he begged the King's leave to

pray

" pray ſhe might be found Innocent; he loved Book I.
" her not a little, becauſe of the Love which
" ſhe ſeemed to bear to God, and his Goſpel; 1536.
" but if ſhe was guilty, all that loved the Goſ-
" pel muſt hate her, as having given the great-
" eſt Slander poſſible to the Goſpel: but he
" prayed the King not to entertain any preju-
" dice to the Goſpel on her account, nor give
" the World reaſon to ſay, That his Love to it
" was founded on the Power that ſhe had with
" him. The King's Jealouſy was now too deep-
ly rooted to admit of any Cure, but an extream
one: The Indictments were laid in the Counties
of *Kent* and *Middleſex*, the former relating to *May* 12.
what was done in *Greenwich*. *Smeton* pleaded
Guilty, and confeſſed he had known the Queen
carnally three times; the reſt pleaded *not guil-
ty*; but they were all condemned.

Three days after that, the Queen and her Bro- *May* 15.
ther (who was then a Peer) were tried before the Her Trial.
Duke of *Norfolk*, as High Steward, and a Court
of 27 Peers. It has been oft given out to de-
fame her the more, that her own Father ſate and
condemned her: but the Record of the Attain-
der ſhews that is falſe, for he was not of the
Number. The Crime charged on her was, That
ſhe had procured her Brother and four others to
lie with her; and had often ſaid to them, *That the
King never had her Heart*; and this was to the ſlan-
der of the Iſſue begotten between the King and
her, which was Treaſon by the Act that con-
firmed her Marriage: So that Act that was made
for the Marriage, was now turned on her to
ruin her. They would not now acknowledg her
the King's lawful Wife, and therefore they did
not found the Treaſon on the known Statute
25th *Edw.* 3. It does not appear what Evidence

Book I. was brought againſt her: for *Smeton* being already condemned, could not be made uſe of;
1536. and his never being brought face to face againſt her, gave great ſuſpicion that he was perſwaded to confeſs by baſe Practices. The Evidence, as appears by *Spelman*'s Account of it, that was then a Judg, was only the Declaration of a Dead Woman: but whether that was forged or real, can never be known till the great Day diſcovers it. The Judgment in caſe of Treaſon for a Woman, is burning, but it was given either for that, or beheading, at the King's Pleaſure. The Judges complained of this as contrary to Law, but there was a ſecret Reaſon for it, into which they did not penetrate. The Earl of *Northumberland* was one of the Judges, he had been once in love with the Queen, and either ſome return of that, or ſome other Accident made that he fell ſuddenly ſo ill, that he could not ſtay out the Trial; for after the Queen was judged, he went out of the Court before her brother was tried, who was condemned upon the ſame Evidence. Yet all this did not ſatisfy the inraged King; he reſolved to illegitimate his Daughter, and in order to that to annul his Marriage with the Queen. It was remembred, that the Earl of *Northumberland*, had ſaid to Cardinal *Wolſey*, that he had engaged himſelf ſo far with her, that he could not go back, which was perhaps done by ſome Promiſe conceived in Words of the *Future Tenſe*; but no promiſe, unleſs in the Words of the *Preſent Tenſe*, could annul the Subſequent Marriage. Perhaps the Queen did not underſtand that Difference, or probably the fear of ſo terrible a death as *Burning*, wrought ſo much on her, that ſhe confeſſed a Contract; but the Earl denied it poſitively, and took the Sacrament

crament upon it, wishing that it might turn to his Damnation, if there was ever either Contract or Promise of Marriage between them. She was secretly carried to *Lambeth*, and confessed a Precontract, upon which her Marriage with the King was judged null from the beginning; yet this was so little known at that time, that *Spelman* writes of it as a thing only talked of, but it was published in the next Parliament. These two Sentences contradicted one another; for if she was never the King's Wife, she could not be guilty of Adultery, for there could be no breach of the Faith of Wedlock, if they were never truly married. But the King was resolved both to be rid of her, and to declare his Daughter by her a *Bastard*. Book I. 1536.

When she had Intimations given her to prepare for Death; among other things she reflected on her Carriage to Lady *Mary*, to whom she had been too severe a *Stepmother*: So she made one of her Women sit down, and she fell on her Knees before her and charged her to go to Lady *Mary*, and in that Posture, and in her Name, to ask her Forgiveness for all she had done against her. This Tenderness of Conscience seemed to give much Credit to the continual Protestations of her Innocence, which she made to the last. The day before her Death, she sent her last Message to the King, asserting her Innocence, recommending her Daughter to his Care, and thanking him for his advancing her, first to be a Marchioness, then to be a Queen, and now, when he could raise her no higher on Earth, for sending her to be a Saint in Heaven. The day she died, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* writ to *Cromwell*, that it was not fit to publish the time of her Execution, for the fewer that were Her Execution.

Book I. 1536. were preſent, it would be the better; ſince he believed ſhe would declare her Innocence at the hour of her Death; for that morning ſhe had made great Proteſtations of it, when ſhe received the Sacrament, and ſeemed to long for Death, and had great Joy and Pleaſure in it; ſhe was glad to hear the Executioner was good, for ſhe ſaid ſhe had a very ſhort Neck, at which ſhe laughed heartily. A little before Noon, ſhe was brought to the place of Execution; there were preſent ſome of the Chief Officers and Great Men of the Court; ſhe was, it ſeems prevailed on out of regard to her Daughter, to make no Reflections on the hard meaſure ſhe met with, nor to ſay any thing touching the Grounds, on which Sentence paſt againſt her, only ſhe deſired that all would judg the beſt: ſhe commended the King highly, and ſo took her leave of the World: She was for ſome time in her private Devotions, and concluded, *To Chriſt I commend my Soul*; upon which the Executioner, who was brought from *Calis* on that occaſion, cut off her Head, and ſo little regard was had to her Body, that it was put in a Cheſt of *Elm-tree*, made to ſend Arrows into *Ireland*, and was buried in the Chappel in the *Tower*. *Norris* was much dealt with to accuſe her, and his Life was promiſed him if he would do it; but he ſaid he knew ſhe was Innocent, and would die a thouſand times rather than defame her: ſo he and the other three were beheaded, and all of them continued to the laſt to vindicate her. *Smeton* was hanged, and it was ſaid, that he retracted all before he died; but of that, there is no certainty.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

When this was done, it was very variouſly cenſured. The Popiſh Party obſerved, that ſhe who

who had ſupplanted Queen *Katherine*, did now meet with harder meaſure; her faint way of ſpeaking concerning her Innocence at laſt, was judged too high a Complement to the King in a dying Woman, and ſhewed more regard to her Daughter than to her own Honour; yet ſhe writ a letter to the King in ſo high a ſtrain both of Wit and Natural Eloquence in her own Juſtification, that it may be reckoned one of the beſt compoſed pieces of that time. In her Carriage it ſeems there were ſome Freedoms that became not her Quality, and had encouraged thoſe unfortunate Perſons to make ſome Addreſſes to her, which is never done when there is ſuch difference of Conditions, without ſome Encouragement is firſt given. It was ſaid on the other hand, that the King of all Men, had the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect her, ſince after ſix Years Courtſhip, he gained nothing from her, before he married her; but the particulars ſhe confeſſed, gave much matter for Jealouſy, eſpecially in ſo violent a Man, to work upon; and ſo it was no wonder if it tranſported him out of meaſure. Others condemned *Cranmer* as too obſequious for paſſing the Sentence annulling the Marriage: yet when ſhe came and confeſſed a Precontract he could not avoid the giving Sentence upon it. All that hated the Reformation inſulted, and ſaid, it now appeared how bad that Cauſe was, which was ſupported by ſuch a Patron. But it was anſwered, that her Faults could not reflect on thoſe, who being Ignorant of them, had deſired her Protection. *Gregory* the Great had courted and magnified *Phocas* and *Brunichild*, after he knew their Villanies; and *Irene* after her barbarous Cruelties, was not a little extoled for her Zeal in the matter of Images. It has ſeemed

Book I. 1536.

Book I. 1536. seemed strange to some, that during her Daugh. ters long and glorious Reign, none writ in Vindication of her Mother, which officious Courtiers are apt to do often without any good Grounds, so that silence was made an Argument of her Guilt, and that she could not be defended. But perhaps that was an effect of the Wisdom of the Ministers of that time, who would not suffer so nice a Point, upon which the Queen's Legitimation depended, to be brought into dispute. The day after *Anne Boleyn*'s Death, the King married *Jane Seymour*, who gained more upon him, than all his Wives ever did: But she was happy that she did not out-live his Love to her.

Lady *Mary*'s Submission to the King.

Lady *Mary* was advised upon this turn of Affairs, to make her Submission to the King: she offered to confess the Fault of her former Obstinacy, and in general, to give up her Understanding entirely to the King; but that would not satisfy, unless she would be more particular; so at last she was prevailed with, to do it in the fullest Terms that could be desired; "She ac- "knowledged the King to be the *Supream Head* "on Earth under Christ of the Church of *Eng.* "*land*, and did renounce the Bishop of *Rome*'s "Authority; and promised in all things to be "obedient to the Laws that were made; which "she said, flowed from her inward Belief, and "Judgment, and in which she would for ever "continue; and she did also acknowledge that "the King's Marriage with her Mother, was "by God's Law and Man's Law unlawful and "incestuous. All this she writ with her own Hand and subscribed it, upon which she was again received into Favour; and an Establishment was made for a Family about her, in which,

Forty

Fourty Pounds a Quarter was all the Allowance for her Privy Purſe, ſo great was the Frugality of that time. Lady *Elizabeth* continued to be Educated with great Care, and was ſo forward, that before ſhe was Four Years old, ſhe both wrote a good Hand, and underſtood *Italian*; for there are Letters extant written by her in that Language to Queen *Jane*, when ſhe was with Child, in which ſhe ſubſcribed *Daughter*. Book I. 1536.

A Parliament meets.

On the 8*th* of *June* the Parliament met, which ſhews that it was ſummoned before the Juſts at *Greenwich*. The Chancellour told them, That the King had called them to ſettle the Succeſſion of the Crown, in caſe he ſhould die without Children lawfully begotten, and to repeal the Act made concerning his Marriage with Queen *Anne*. It ſeems the Parliament was not at firſt eaſily brought to comply with theſe things; and that it was neceſſary to take ſome pains to prepare them to it. For the Bill of Succeſſion was not put in till the 30*th* of *June*, but then it was diſpatched without any Oppoſition: "By "it the Attainder of Queen *Anne* and her Com- "plices is confirmed; both the Sentences of Di- "vorces paſſed upon the King's two former "Marriages were alſo confirmed; and the Iſſue "by both were Illegitimated, and for ever ex- "cluded from claiming the Crown by Lineal "Deſcent: And the Succeſſion was eſtabliſhed "on the King's Iſſue by his preſent Queen, or "any whom he might afterwards marry. But "it not being fit to declare who ſhould ſucceed "in default of that, leſt the Perſon ſo named "might be thereby enabled to raiſe Commoti- "ons, in Confidence of the King's Wiſdom, and "Affection to his People, they left it to him "to nominate his Succeſſors, either by Letters "Pat-

Book I. 1535. "Patents, or by his laſt Will ſigned by his "Hand, and promiſed to obey the Perſons ſo nominated by him. It was declared *Treaſon* to "maintain the Lawfulneſs of his former Marriages, or of his Iſſue by them, and it was "made not only Treaſon, but a forfeiture of "the Right of Succeſſion, if any of thoſe whom "the King ſhould name in default of others, "ſhould endeavour to get before them. The *Scots* complained of this Act, and ſaid, Their Queen *Dowager*, being King *Henry*'s Eldeſt Siſter, could not be put by her Right, after the King's Lawful Iſſue. But by this, the King was now made *Maſter* indeed, and had the Crown put entirely in his Hands, to be diſpoſed of at his Pleaſure; and his Daughters were now to depend wholly on him. He had it alſo in his Power in a great meaſure to pacify the Emperour by providing, that his Kinſwoman might ſucceed to the Crown.

Pope *Paul* the 3*d*. propoſes a Reconciliation with the King.

Pope *Clement* the 7*th*. was now dead, and *Farneſe* ſucceeded by the Name of *Paul* the 3*d*, who, after an unſucceſsful Attempt, which he had made for reconciling himſelf with the King, when that was rejected, and *Fiſher* was beheaded, thundered out a moſt terrible Sentence of Depoſition againſt him: Yet now, ſince both Queen *Katherine* and Queen *Anne*, upon whoſe account the Breach was made, were out of the way, he thought it a fit time to try what might be done; and ordered *Caſſali* to let the King know that he had always favoured his Cauſe when he was a Cardinal, that he was driven very much againſt his mind to paſs Sentence againſt him; and that now it would be eaſy for him to recover the Favour of the Apoſtolick See.

But

But the King inſtead of harkening to the Propoſition, got two Acts to be paſs'd; "The one "was for the utter extinguiſhing the Pope's "Authority; and it was made a *Præmunire* for "any to acknowledge it, or to perſwade others "to it: And a ſtrict Charge was given to all "Magiſtrates under ſevere Penalties to enquire "after all Offenders. By another all Bulls and "all Priviledges flowing from them, were de-"clared null and void, only Marriages or Con-"ſecrations made by virtue of them, were ex-"cepted. All who enjoyed Priviledges by theſe "Bulls were required to bring them into the "*Chancery*; upon which the Archbiſhop was to "make them a new Grant of them, and that, "being confirmed under the Great Seal, was to "be of full force in Law.

1536. Acts againſt the Pope's Power.

Another Act paſs'd explaining an Exception, that was in the Act for the Reſidence of all Incumbents, by which thoſe who were at the Univerſities were diſpenſed with, upon which, many went and lived idlely there. It was therefore now declared, that none above the Age of Forty, except Heads and publick Readers, ſhould have the Benefit of that *Proviſo*, and that none under that Age ſhould be comprehended in it, except they performed their Exerciſes. Another Act paſs'd in favour of the King's Heirs, if they ſhould Reign before they were of full Age, that they might any time before they were Twenty four, repeal by Letters Patents all Acts made during their Minority. All theſe things being concluded, the Parliament after it had ſate ſix Weeks, was Diſſolved.

The Convocation ſate at the ſame time, and was much imployed: For the Houſe of Lords was oft adjourned, becauſe the Spiritual Lords were

The Convocation examines ſome Points of Religion.

Book I. 1530. were busy in the Convocation. *Latimer* preached the Latin Sermon; he was the most celebrated Preacher of that time; the Simplicity of his Matter, and his Zeal in expressing it, being preferred to more elaborate Compositures. They first confirmed the Sentence of the Divorce of the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*. Then the Lower House made an Address to the Upper House complaining of Sixty seven Opinions that they found were much spread in the Kingdom: They were either the Tenets of the old *Lollards*, or the new Reformers, or of the Anabaptists; and many of them were only unsavoury and indiscreet Expressions, which might have flowed from the Heat and Folly of some rash Zealots, who by petulant Jeers, and an affectation of Wit, had endeavoured to disgrace both the received Doctrines and Rites. They also complained of some Bishops who were wanting in their Duty to suppress such Abuses; which was understood as a Reflection on *Cranmer*, *Shaxton*, and *Latimer*. It was hoped that *Cranmer* was now declining by Queen *Anne*'s Fall; and the other two who were raised by her, would not have stood long, if he had been once disgraced; yet they premised to this a Protestation, that they intended to do nothing that might displease the King, whom they acknowledged to be *their Supream Head*; and they were resolved to obey his Laws, and they renounced the Pope's Authority with all his Laws. All these Projects failed, for *Cranmer* was now fully established in the King's Favour; and *Cromwell* was sent to them with a Message from the King, that they should reform the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Rules, set down in Scripture, which ought to be

be preferred to all Gloſſes or Decrees of Popes. There was one *Alexander Alane* a *Scotch Man*, whom *Cromwell* entertained in his Houſe, and he being appointed to deliver his Opinion, largely ſhewed that there was no Sacraments Inſtituted by Chriſt, but Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper: *Stokeſley* anſwered him in a long Diſcourſe upon the Principles of the School-Divinity; upon which *Cranmer* took occaſion to ſhew the Vanity of that ſort of Learning, and the Uncertainty of Tradition: And that Religion had been ſo corrupted in the latter Ages, that there was no finding out the Truth, but by reſting in the Authority of the Scriptures. *Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford* ſeconded him, and told them, The World was now awake, and would be no longer impoſed on by the Niceties and dark Terms of the Schools; for the Laity now did not only read the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongues, but ſearched the Originals themſelves; therefore they muſt not think to govern them as they had been in the Times of Ignorance: Among the Biſhops, *Cranmer*, *Goodrick*, *Shaxton*, *Latimer*, *Fox*, *Hilſey*, and *Barlow*, preſt a Reformation; but *Edward Lee* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Stokeſley*, *Tonſtal*, *Gardiner*, *Longland*, and ſeveral others oppoſed it as much: But the Conteſt had been ſharper, if the King had not ſent ſome Articles to them to be conſidered of by them; ſo they whoſe chief Deſign it was to recommend themſelves to Preferment, by the eaſineſs of their Compliance with him in all Points, did agree on the following Particulars. Book I. 1536.

Articles of Religion agreed on.

" 1. That the Biſhops and Preachers ought to " Inſtruct the People according to the Scripture, " the three Creeds, and the four firſt General " Councils.

Book I. 1536.

" 2. That Baptism was necessary to Salvation, and that Children ought to be Baptized for the Pardon of Original Sin, and obtaining the Holy Ghost.

" 3. That Penance was necessary to Salvation, and that it consisted in Confession, Contrition, and Amendment of Life, with the External Works of Charity, to which a lively Faith ought to be joyned; and that Confession to a Priest was necessary where it might be had.

" 4. That in the *Eucharist* under the forms of Bread and Wine, the very Flesh and Blood of Christ was received.

" 5. That Justification was the remission of Sins, and a perfect Renovation in Christ, and that not only outward good Works, but inward Holiness was absolutely necessary: As for the outward Ceremonies, the People were to be taught, that it was meet to have Images in Churches, but they ought to avoid all such Superstition as had been usual in time past, and not to Worship the Image, but only God. 2. That they were to honour the Saints, but not to expect those things from them which God only gives. 3. That they might pray to them for their Intercession; but all Superstitious Abuses were to cease; and if the King should lessen the number of Saints Days, they ought to obey him. 4. That the use of the Ceremonies was good, and that they contained many Mystical Significations that tended to raise the Mind towards God, such were Vestments in Divine Worship, Holy Water, Holy Bread, the carrying of Candles, and Palms, and Ashes, and creeping to the Cross, and the Hallowing the Font, with other Exorcisms. 5. That it

" was

" was good to pray for departed Souls, and to Book I.
" have Maſſes and Exequies ſaid for them; but
" the Scriptures having neither declared in what 1536.
" Place they were, nor what Torments they ſuf-
" fered, that was uncertain, and to be left to
" God: Therefore all the Abuſes of the Pope's
" Pardons, or ſaying Maſſes in ſuch or ſuch
" Places, or before ſuch Images were to be put
" away. Theſe Articles were ſigned by *Crom-*
well, the two Archbiſhops, ſixteen Biſhops, for-
ty Abbots and Priors, and fifty of the Lower-
Houſe; to them the King added a Preface, de-
claring the pains that he and the Clergy had been
at, for the removing the Differences in Religi-
on that were in the Nation, and that he ap-
proved of theſe Articles, and required all his
Subjects to accept them with the like Unanimi-
ty with which they were conſented to: And he
would be thereby encouraged to take further
Pains in the like matters for the future.

When theſe things were publiſhed, thoſe that de- They are
ſired a Reformation, though they did not approve variouſly
of every Particular, yet were well pleaſed to cenſured.
ſee things brought under Examination; and ſince
ſome things were at this time changed, they did
not doubt but more Changes would follow;
they were glad that the Scriptures and the An-
cient Creeds were made the Standards of the
Faith, without adding Tradition, and that the
nature of Juſtification and the Goſpel Covenant
were rightly ſtated; that the immediate Wor-
ſhip of Images and Saints was condemned, and
that Purgatory was left uncertain; but the ne-
ceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion, and the Corpo-
ral Preſence, the doing Reverence to Images,
and Praying to Saints, were of hard Digeſtion to
them: Yet they were glad to ſee ſome groſſer

Book I. 1536. Abuſes removed, and a Reformation once ſet on foot. The Popiſh Party were ſorry to ſee four Sacraments paſt over in ſilence; and the Trade about Purgatory put down; and were very apprehenſive of the Precedent of bringing matters of Religion under Debate, which would bring on other Alterations. When theſe things were known beyond Sea, the Court of *Rome* made great uſe of them, to let all Princes ſee the neceſſity of adhering to the Holy See; for no ſooner did *England* depart from that, than it began to change the Doctrine likewiſe. The *Germans* on the other hand, ſaid, This was a Political Daubing, for ſatisfying all Parties; and that it ſavoured not of the Sincerity that became the Profeſſors of True Religion, to allow of ſo many Errours. To this it was anſwered, that our Saviour did not deliver all things to his Diſciples, till they were able to bear them. And the Apoſtles did not aboliſh all the Rites of Judaiſm at once, but by a gentle Progreſs intended to wean thoſe that were Converted to the Chriſtian Religion from them. The Clergy were to be drawn by ſlow and eaſy Steps out of their Ignorance and Superſtition; whereas the driving on things with precipitated haſte, might ſpoil the whole Deſign, and alienate thoſe who by ſlower Methods might be gained; and it might alſo much endanger the Peace of the Nation.

Other Alterations propoſed.

At the ſame time other things were in Conſultation, tho' not finiſhed. *Cranmer* offered ſome *Queries* to ſhew the Cheats that had been put on the World: As, that Prieſtly Abſolution without Contrition was of more efficacy than Contrition was without it: And that the People truſted wholly to outward Ceremonies, in which

which the Priests encouraged them because of the Gain they made by them: That the exemption of Clergy-men was without good ground; that Bishops did Ordain without due care and previous trial; and that the Dignified Clergy misapplied their Revenues, and did not reside on their Benefices; he also desired that the other four Sacraments might be enquired into: But these things were not at this time taken under any further Consideration. It is true, Confirmation seems to have been examined: The Method in which they made their Enquiries, was this; the Point to be examined was brought under so many Heads, in the form of Queries; and to these every one gave his Answer with his Reasons: So I find two Papers, the one of *Cranmer*'s, the other of *Stokesley*'s, on this Head; the former runs wholly on Scripture Authority, and he thinks it was not Instituted by Christ, but was done by the Apostles, by that extraordinary Effusion of the Holy Ghost, that rested on them: The other founds his Opinion for its being a Sacrament, on the Tradition of the Church; but nothing was determined in this Point. *Cranmer* did at this time, offer another Paper to the King, exhorting him to proceed to a further Reformation, and that nothing should be determined without clear Proofs from Scripture; for the departing from that Rule, had been the Occasion of all the Errours that had been in the Church. Many things were now acknowledged to be Errours, for which some not long before, had suffered Death. He therefore proposed several Points to be discussed; as, Whether there was a Purgatory? Whether departed Souls ought to be Invocated, or Tradition be believed? Whether Images ought to be considered

Book I. 1536.

Book I. only as Repreſentations of Hiſtory? And whether it was Lawful for the Clergy to Marry?
1536. He prayed the King not to give Judgment in theſe Points, till he heard them well examined: and for the laſt he offered, that if thoſe who would defend the Lawfulneſs of it, ſhould not in the Opinion of Indifferent Judges, prove their Opinion to be true, they would be willing to ſuffer Death; but if they proved it; all that they deſired was, that the King would leave them to the Liberty which God had allowed them in that matter: But all this was carried no further at this time.

The Pope had Iſſued out a Summons for a General Council at *Mantua*, and had cited the King to it: From this, the King did appeal to a General Council, rightly conſtituted. So a motion being made by *Fox*, that the Convocation ſhould deliver their Senſe in this Particular; they drew up a Paper, in which they ſet forth the great Good that might follow in a General Council rightly called; but that nothing could be more miſchievous, than one called on private Malice, according to what *Nazianzen* obſerved of the Councils in his time; And they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince, had ſufficient Authority to call one; but that all Princes who had an entire and ſupream Government over all their Subjects, ought to concur to it. This was ſigned by them all, on the 20*th* of *July*; and ſo was the Convocation diſmiſs'd. Two Days before it brake up, *Cromwell* was made the King's Vicegerent in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, of which, ſome account was formerly given.

The King proteſts againſt a Council called by the Pope.

Soon after this, the King publiſhed a long and ſharp Proteſtation againſt the Council ſummoned

moned by the Pope; he denied that he had any Authority to Summon any of his Subjects: He shewed that the place was neither proper nor safe; and that no good could be expected from any Council in which the Pope presided, since the regulating his Power was one of the chief occasions that the World had for a Council: And while Christendom was in such Distractions, and the Emperour and the King of *France* were engaged in War, it was not a fit time for one to be called. The Pope had refused it long; and this Conjuncture was chosen, in which the Bishops could not come to it, that so a packt meeting of *Italian* Bishops might do what they pleased, under the name of a General Council: But the World would be no longer cozened. No credit was due to a Pope's safe Conduct, for they had often broken their Oaths, as to himself in particular: And notwithstanding his former kindness to that See, they had been for Three Years, stirring up all the Princes in Christendom against him. He protested against all Councils called by the Pope; but declared, He would be ready to concur with other Christian Princes for calling one, when it should be convenient: And in the mean while, he would maintain all the Articles of the Faith; and lose his Life and Crown sooner than suffer any of them to be put down. Three Years after this, the King made a new Protestation to the same effect, when the Council was summoned to meet at *Vincenza*. Book I 1536.

Cardinal *Pool* writes against the King.

Reginald Pool began at this same time to raise that Opposition to the King, which proved so fatal to all his Family. He was by his Mother descended from the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the Fourth; and was by his Father likewise, the King's near Kinsman. To this high

Book I. 1536. Quality, there was joined a great Sweetneſs of Temper, and a Diſpoſition for Letters, which the King cheriſhed much, and gave him the Deanry of *Exeter*, and ſome other Preferments, in order to the carrying on of his Studies, being reſolved to advance him to the higheſt Dignities in the Church. He lived many Years, both at *Paris* and *Padua*. In the latter of theſe, he joined himſelf to a Society of Learned Men, that gave themſelves much to the Study of Eloquence, and of the *Roman* Authors, among whom, were *Contareno*, *Bembo*, *Caraffa*, and *Sadoletti*, all afterwards honoured with the Scarlet; but *Pool* was eſteemed the moſt Eloquent of them all. When he was at *Paris*, he firſt incurred the King's Diſpleaſure, for he refuſed to join with thoſe whom he imployed, in order to the procuring the Determinations of the French Univerſities for the Divorce. Yet after that, he came to *England*, and was preſent when the Convocation declared the King to be their *Supream Head*: And it is probable, that he joined in it, for he kept his Deanry ſome Years after this, which 'tis not likely would have been granted him, if he had not done that. The King ſuffered him after that to go beyond Sea, but could never draw him over again. Some time afterwards, he wrote plainly to the King, that he condemned both his Divorce, and his Separation from the Apoſtolick See. The King upon that, ſent him a Book writ by *Sampſon*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, in Defence of theſe things; and that ſet him on writing his Book, *De Unione Eccleſiaſtica*, which was Printed this Year. It was full of ſharp Reflections on the King, whom he compared to *Nebuchadnezzar*: It tended much to depreſs the Regal, and to exalt the Papal Authority.

Authority. And in Concluſion, he addreſſed himſelf to the Emperour, praying him, rather to turn his Arms againſt the King, than the *Turk*. It was very Eloquently wrote; but there was little Learning or Reaſoning in it; and it was full of Indecencies in the Language, that he beſtowed not only on *Sampſon*, but on the King. The King required him to come over, but that was not to be expected, after he had made ſuch a ſtep. So he deveſted him of all his Dignities; but that recommended him to a Cardinal's Hat. *Stokeſley*, and *Tonſtall*, wrote him a Long and Learned Letter, in the King's Vindication. *Gardiner* wrote alſo his Book, *De vera Obedientia*; to which *Bonner* prefixed a vehement Preface againſt the Pope's Power, and for juſtifying the King's Supremacy. The King's Anger at *Pool* could not reach him, but it fell heavy on his Kindred. Book I. 1536.

Viſitors were appointed to ſurvey all the leſſer Monaſteries: They were required to carry along with them the Concurrence of the Gentry near them, and to examine the eſtate of their Revenues and Goods, and take Inventories of them; and to take their Seals into their keeping: They were to try how many of the Religious would take Capacities, and return to a Secular Courſe of Life; and theſe were to be ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the Lord Chancellour for them; and an Allowance was to be given them for their Journey: But thoſe who intended to continue in that State, were to be ſent to ſome of the great Monaſteries that lay next. A Penſion was alſo to be aſſigned to the Abbot, or Prior, during Life: And of all this, they were to make their Report by *Michaelmaſs*: And they were particularly to examine what Leaſes

The leſſer Monaſteries ſeized on.

Book I. 1536. Leaſes had been made all the laſt Year. The Abbots hearing of what was coming on them, had been raiſing all the Money they could; and ſo it was intended to recover what was made away by ill Bargains. There were great Complaints made of the Proceedings of the Viſitors, of their Violencies and Briberies; and perhaps not without reaſon. Ten Thouſand of the Religious were ſet to ſeek for their Livings, with Forty Shillings and a Gown a Man. Their Goods and Plate were eſtimated at *One hundred thouſand Pounds*, and the valued Rents of their Houſes was *Thirty two thouſand Pounds*; but was really above ten times ſo much. The Churches and Cloiſters were in moſt places pulled down, and the Materials ſold.

Which gave a general Diſcontent.

This gave a general Diſcontent; and the Monks were now as much pitied, as they were formerly hated. It was thought ſtrange to ſee the King devour what his Anceſtors had dedicated to the Honour of God, and his Saints. The Nobility and Gentry, who provided for their Younger Children, or Friends, by putting them in thoſe Sanctuaries, were ſenſible of their Loſs. The People who had been fed at the Abbots Tables, and as they Travelled over the Country, found the Abbies to be places of Reception to Strangers, ſaw what they were to loſe. But the more Superſtitious, who thought their Friends muſt now lye ſtill in Purgatory, without that Relief which the Maſſes procured them, were out of meaſure offended at theſe Proceedings. The Books that were publiſhed of the Diſorders in theſe Houſes, had no great effect on the People: For it was ſaid, There was no reaſon to deſtroy whole Houſes for the ſake of ſome vicious Perſons, who ought to have been driven

driven out of them and puniſhed. But to re- Book I.
move this general Diſcontent, *Cromwell* adviſed
the King to ſell theſe Lands at very eaſy Rates, 1536.
to the Nobility and Gentry, and to oblige them
to keep up the wonted Hoſpitality. This would
both be grateful to them, and would engage
them to aſſiſt the Crown in the maintenance of
the Changes that had been made; ſince their own
Intereſts would be interwoven with the Rights
of the Crown; and the commoner ſort, whoſe
grudges lay chiefly in their Stomachs, for the
want of the good Dinners they uſed to find,
would be eaſily pacified if theſe were ſtill kept
up. And upon a Clauſe in the Act impowering
the King to found a-new ſuch Houſes as he
ſhould think fit; there were Fifteen Monaſteries,
and 16 Nunneries new founded. It ſeems theſe
had been more regular than the reſt; ſo that
for a while they were reprived, till the General
Suppreſſion came, that they fell with the reſt.
They were bound to obey ſuch Rules as the
King ſhould ſend them; and to pay him Tenths,
and Firſt-fruits. But all this did not ſo pacify
the People, but there was ſtill a great out-cry.
The Clergy ſtudied much to inflame the Nation;
and built much on this, that an Heretical Prince
depoſed by the Pope, was no more to be ac-
knowledged, which had been for Five hundred
Years received as an Article of Faith, and was
decreed in the ſame Council, that eſtabliſhed
Tranſubſtantiation; and had been received and
carried down from *Gregory* the Seventh's time,
who pretended, that it was a part of the Papal
Power to Depoſe Kings, and give away their
Dominions, and it had been oft put in Practice
in almoſt all the Parts of *Europe*, and ſome that
had been raiſers of great Seditions had been Ca-
nonized

Book I. nonized for it. The Pope had ſummoned the King to appear at *Rome*, and anſwer for putting away his Queen and taking another Wife, for the Laws he had made againſt the Church, and for putting the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and others to Death for their not obeying them; if he did not appear, nor reform theſe things, he Excommunicated and Deprived him, abſolved his Subjects from their Obedience, diſſolved his Leagues with Foreign Princes, and put the Kingdom under an Interdict. But tho' the force of theſe Thunders was in this age much abated, yet they had not quite loſt their Strength; and the Clergy reſolved to make the moſt of them that could be.

1536.

Injunctions given by the King.

Some Injunctions which were given by *Cromwel*, increaſed this ill Diſpoſition. They were to this Effect: All Church-men were required every Sunday for a quarter of a Year, and twice every Quarter after that, to preach againſt the Pope's Power, and aſſert the King's Supremacy, and to explain the Articles lately ſet forth by the Convocation; and to publiſh the Abrogation of ſome Holy-days in Harveſt time: They were no more to extol Images, Relicks, or Pilgrimages; but to exhort the People to do Works of Charity inſtead of them: And they were required to teach the People the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh, and to explain theſe carefully, and inſtruct the Children well in them. They were to perform the Divine Offices reverently, and to have good Curates to ſupply their rooms when they were abſent. They were charged not to go to Ale-houſes, or ſit too long at Games; but to ſtudy the Scriptures much, and be exemplary in their Lives: Thoſe that did not reſide, were to give the fortieth part of their income to the Poor

Poor, and for every 100 *l.* a year that any had, they were to maintain a Scholar at ſome Grammar-School, or the Univerſity: and if the Parſonage Houſe was in decay, they were ordered to apply a fifth part of their Benefice for repairing it. Such as did not obey theſe Injunctions, were to be ſuſpended, and their mean Profits were to be ſequeſtred. The Clergy deteſted this Precedent of the King's giving Injunctions without the Concurrence of a Convocation, and by which, they ſaid, they ſhould be made Slaves to his *Vicegerent*: they alſo complained of thoſe heavy Taxes that were laid on them, and that Images, Relicks, and Pilgrimages would be now brought under great Contempt. Both the Secular and Regular Clergy were ſo ſenſibly concerned in theſe things, that they inflamed the People all they could. The great Abbots were not wanting for their ſhare to ſet that on, they were now oppreſt with the Crouds of thoſe who were ſent to them from the ſuppreſt Houſes, and they expected to fall next; nor were their Fears removed by a Letter that was ſent about in the King's Name for ſilencing all Reports that were given out of his Intentions to ſuppreſs them; this rather increaſed than leſſened their Jealouſie. Book I. 1536.

A Rebellion in *Lincolnſhire.*

The People continued quiet till they had reaped their Harveſt, but in the beginning of *October*, *Twenty Thouſand* roſe in *Lincolnſhire*, led by a Prieſt diſguiſed into a Cobler. They took an Oath to be true to God, the King, and the Commonwealth, and ſent a Paper of their Grievances to the King. "They complained of ſome Acts of Parli-
"ment, of the ſuppreſſing of many Religious
"Houſes, of mean and ill Counſellours and bad
"Biſhops; and prayed the King to redreſs their
"Grievances by the Advice of the Nobility;
"but

Book I. 1536. "but yet they acknowledged him to be their "Supream Head, and that the Tenths and First-"Fruits of Livings belong'd to him of right. The King ſent the Duke of *Suffolk* to raiſe Forces againſt them, and give an Anſwer to their Petition. "He ſaid it belonged not to the Rab-"ble to direct Princes what Counſellours they "ſhould chooſe. The Religious Houſes were "ſuppreſt by Law, and the Heads of them had "under their Hands confeſſed ſuch horrid Scan-"dals, that they were a reproach to the Nati-"on; and ſince in many of them there were not "above four, and that they waſted their Rents "in riotous living, it was much better to ap-"ply them to the common good of the Nation, "than leave them in ſuch hands; he required "them to ſubmit to his Mercy, and to put two "hundred of their Leaders into the Hands of "his Leiutenants. The Clergy having brought ſo many together, did all they could to put Heat and Spirit in them, they perſwaded them, that if they did not maintain their Faith and their Liberties, both would be loſt. Some of the Gentry were forced to join with them for their own Preſervation; and they ſent Advices to the Duke of *Suffolk*, to procure from the King, the offer of a General Pardon, which would effectually diſſipate them.

Another in *Yorkſhire.* At the ſame time there was a more formidable riſing in *York-ſhire*, which being in the Nighbourhood of *Scotland*, was like to draw Aſſiſtance from that Kingdom: tho' their King was then gone into *France* to marry *Francis*'s Daughter; this inclined the King to make more haſte to ſettle matters in *Lincolnſhire*; he ſent them ſecret Aſſurances of mercy, which wrought on the greateſt part, ſo they diſperſed themſelves

ſelves, and the moſt obſtinate went over to them in *York-ſhire*. The Cobler, and ſome others were taken and executed. The diſtance that thoſe in the *North* were at from the Court gave them time to riſe, and form themſelves into ſome Method: One *Ask* commanded in chief, and performed his part with great Dexterity: their March was called *The Pilgrimage of Grace*; they had in their Banners and on their Sleeves, the five Wounds of Chriſt; they took an Oath that they would reſtore the Church, ſuppreſs Hereticks, preſerve the King and his Iſſue, and drive baſe-born Men and ill Councellors from him. They became *Forty Thouſand* ſtrong in a few days and met with no Oppoſition, they forced the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Lord *Darcy* to ſwear their Covenant, and to go along with them. They beſieged *Skipton*, but the Earl of *Cumberland* made it good againſt them: Sir *Ralph Evers* held out *Scarborough* Caſtle, tho for twenty days he and his Men had no Proviſions but Bread and Water. There was alſo a riſing in all the other Northern Counties, againſt whom the Earl of *Shrewsbury* made Head; and the King ſent ſeveral of the Nobility to his Aſſiſtance, and within a few days the Duke of *Norfolk* marched with ſome Troops, and joined him. They poſſeſſed themſelves of *Doncaſter*, and reſolved to keep that paſs till the reſt of the Forces that the King had ordered to be ſummoned, ſhould come up to them; for they were not in a condition to engage with ſuch numbers of deſperate Men; and it was very likely that if they met with any ill Accident, the People might have riſen about them every where; ſo the Duke of *Norfolk* reſolved to keep cloſe at *Doncaſter*, and let the Proviſions and Rage of the Rebels ſpend

Book I. 1536.

and

Book I. and then with the help of a little time, they might probably fall into Factions, and melt away.

1536. They had now fallen to *Thirty Thousand*, but the King's Army was not above *Five Thousand*. The Duke of *Norfolk* propoſed a Treaty, and made ſome go among them as Deſerters, and ſpread Reports that their Leaders were making Terms for themſelves. They were perſwaded to ſend their Petitions to the Court, and the King to make them more ſecure, diſcharged a Rendezvouz that he had appointed at *Northampton*, and ſent them a general Pardon, excepting ſix by name, and reſerving four to be afterwards named; but this put them all in ſuch Apprehenſions, that it made them more reſolved and deſperate: Yet the King to give his People ſome Content, put out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to continue the uſe of all the Ceremonies of the Church: 300 were employed to carry the Rebels Demands to the King; "Which "were a General Pardon, a Parliament to be "held at *York*; and that Courts of Juſtice "ſhould be ſet up there; they deſired that "ſome Acts of Parliament might be repealed, "that the Princeſs *Mary* might be reſtored "to her Right of Succeſſion and the Pope to his "wonted Juriſdiction; that the Monaſtries might "be again ſet up; that *Audley* and *Cromwel* might "be put from the King, and that ſome of the "Viſitors might be impriſoned for their Bribery "and Extortion. But theſe being rejected, the Rebels took heart again, upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* adviſed the King to gentle Methods; he in his Heart wiſhed that all their Demands might be granted; and the Lord *Darcy* did accuſe him afterwards as if he had encouraged them to make them. The King ſent him

him a general Pardon without any Exceptions, to be made use of as he saw Cause. The Rebels finding that with the loss of time, they lost Heart, resolved to fall upon him and beat him from *Doncaster*: but at two several times, in which they had resolved to pass the River, such Rains fell out as made it unpassable, which was magnified as next to a Miracle, and made great Impressions on the Rebels Minds. The King sent a long Answer to their Demands; "He assured them he would live and "dye in the Defence of the Christian Faith: "But the Rabble ought not to prescribe to him, "and to the Convocation in that matter. He an- "swered that which concerned the Monasteries, "as he had done to the Men of *Lincolnshire*. "For the Laws, a Multitude must not pretend "to alter what was established; he had govern- "ed them now Twenty eight Years, his Sub- "jects had enjoyed great Safety, and been very "gently used by him in all that time. It was "given out, that when he began to Reign, he "had many of the Nobility in his Council, and "that he had then none but Men meanly born; "this was false, for he found but two Noble- "Men of his Council, and at present there were "Seven Temporal Lords, and Four Bishops in "it. It was necessary to have some that knew "the Law of *England*, and Treaties with Fo- "reign Princes, which made him call *Audley* "and *Cromwell* to the Board. If they had any "Complaints to make of any about him, he "was ready to hear them; but he would "not suffer them to direct him what Counsel- "lours he ought to employ, nor could they "judge of the Bishops that were promoted, "who were not known to them; he charged

Book I. 1537.

Book I. 1537.

"them not to believe Lyes, nor be governed by "Incendiaries, but to submit to his Mercy. On the *9th* of *December*, he signed a Proclamation of Pardon without any Restrictions.

They are every where quieted.

When this was known, and the Rage of the People cooled, they were willing to lay hold on it, and all the Artifices that some of the Clergy and their Leaders could use, had no other Effect but to draw as many together as brought them under new Guilt, and made them forfeit the Benefit of the King's Pardon. Many came in and renewed their Oaths of Allegiance, and *Ask* promising all Obedience for the future, was invited to the Court, and well used by the King, on design to learn from him all the secrets Correspondencies they had in the other parts of the Kingdom; for the Disposition to Rebel was general, only they were not all alike forward in it. It was in particular believed that the great Abbots cherished it, for which some of them were afterwards attainted. *Darcy* pleaded his great Age, being then Fourscore, and the eminent Service he had done the Crown for Fifty Years together, and that he was forced for his own Preservation to go along with the Rebels; but yet he was put in Prison. This gave the Clergy Advantages to infuse it in the People, that the Pardon would not be well kept: So *Eight thousand* run together again, and thought to have surprized *Carlisle*, but the Duke of *Norfolk* fell on them and routed them, and by Martial Law hanged their Captains, and Seventy other Persons. Others thought to have surprized *Hull*, but were likewise routed, and many of them were hanged. Many other little Risings were quickly dispersed; and such was the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Vigilance, that he was every where upon them

them before they could grow to any Number: And before the end of *January*, the Country was abſolutely quieted. *Aſk* left the Court without leave, but was ſoon re-taken and hanged at *York*. The Lord *Darcy* and *Huſſy* were arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, and condemned by their Peers, the one for the *Yorkſhire*, and the other for the *Lincolnſhire* Inſurrections. *Darcy* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*: His old Age and former Services made him to be much lamented. *Huſſy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*. *Darcy* accuſed the Duke of *Norfolk*, but he deſired a Trial by Combat upon it, yet the Services he had lately done were ſuch, that the King would not ſeem to have any Jealouſy of him. After theſe and ſeveral other Executions were over, the King proclaimed a General Oblivion in *July*, by which, the Nation was again put in a quiet Condition, and this threatning Storm was now quite diſſipated.

1537.

As ſoon as it was over, the King went on more reſolutely in his Deſign of Suppreſſing the Monaſteries; for he was now leſs apprehenſive of any new Commotions after ſo many had been ſo happily quaſht, and that the chief Incendiaries had ſuffered.

A new Viſitation was appointed to enquire into the Converſation of the Monks, to examine how they ſtood affected to the Pope, and how they promoted the King's Supremacy. They were likewiſe ordered to examine what Impoſtures might be among them, either in Images or Relicks, by which the Superſtition of the Credulous People was wrought on. Some few Houſes of greater value, were prevailed with the former Year to ſurrender to the King. Many of the Houſes that had not been diſſolved, tho' they

The greater Monaſteries reſigned to the King.

Book I. 1537. they were within the former Act, were now suppreſt, and many of the greater Abbots were wrought on to ſurrender by ſeveral Motives: Some had been faulty during the Rebellion, and ſo to prevent a Storm, offered a Reſignation. Others liked the Reformation, and did it on that account; ſome were found guilty of great Diſorders in their Lives, and to prevent a ſhameful Diſcovery, offered their Houſes to the King; and others had made ſuch Waſtes and Dilapidations, that having taken Care of themſelves, they were leſs concerned for others. At St. *Albans*, the Rents were let ſo low, that the Abbot could not maintain the Charge of the Abbey. At *Battel* the whole Furniture of the Houſe and Chappel was not above *One hundred Pounds* in value, and their Plate was not above *Three hundred Pounds*. In ſome Houſes there was ſcarce any Plate or Furniture left. Many Abbots and Monks were glad to accept of a Penſion for Life, and that was proportioned to the value of their Houſe, and to their Innocence. The Abbots of St. *Albans* and *Tewkesbury*, had *Four hundred Marks* a Year: The Abbot of St. *Edmondsbury* was more innocent and more reſolute: The Viſitors wrote that they found no Scandals in that Houſe; but at laſt he was prevailed with by a Penſion of *Five hundred Marks* to reſign. The inferior Governours had ſome *Thirty*, *Twenty*, or *Ten Pounds* Penſions, and the Monks had generally, *Six Pounds*, or *Eight Marks* a-piece. If any Abbot died, the new Abbot (they being choſen as the Biſhops were upon a *Conge delire*, and a Miſſive Letter) was named for that purpoſe, only to reſign the Houſe. And all were made to hope for Advancement, that ſhould give good Example to others by a quick and cheerful ſurrender;

surrender; by these means *One hundred twenty one* of those Houses were this Year resigned to the King. In most Houses the Visitor made the Monks sign a Confession of their former Vices and Disorders, of which there is only one Original Extant, that escaped a general Rasure of all such Papers in Queen *Mary*'s time; in which they acknowledged in a long Narrative, their "former Idleness, Gluttony, and Sensuality, "for which the Pit of Hell was ready to swal-"low them up. Others acknowledged that "they were sensible that the manner of their "former pretended Religion consisted in some "dumb Ceremonies, by which they were blind-"ly led, having no true knowledge of God's "Laws, but that they had procured Exemption "from their Diocesans, and had subjected them-"selves wholly to a Foreign Power, that took "no care to reform their Abuses; and therefore "since the most perfect way of Life was revealed "by Christ and his Apostles, and that it was "fit they should be governed by the King, their "*Supream Head*, they resigned to him. Of this sort I have seen six. Some resigned in hopes that the King would found them a-new; these favoured the Reformation, and intended to convert their Houses to better Uses, for Preaching, Study, and Prayer; and *Latimer* prest *Cromwel* earnestly, that two or three Houses might be reserved for such purposes in every County. But it was resolved to suppress all, and therefore neither could the Intercessions of the Gentry of *Oxfordshire*, nor of the Visitors, preserve the Nunnery at *Godstow*, tho' they found great strictness of Life in it, and it was the common place of the Education of young Women of Quality in that County. The common Preamble to

Book I. 1537.

Book I. moſt Surrenders was, "That upon full Delibe-
"ration, and of their own proper Motion, for
1357. "juſt and reaſonable Cauſes, moving their Con-
"ſciences, they did freely give up their Houſes
"to the King. Some ſurrendred without any Preamble to the Viſitors, as Feofees in truſt for the King. In ſhort, they went on at ſuch a rate, that One hundred fifty nine Reſignations were obtained before the Parliament met, and of theſe the Originals of *One hundred fifty four* are yet extant. Some thought that theſe Reſignations could not be Valid, ſince the Incumbents had not the Property, but only the truſt for Life of thoſe Houſes. But the Parliament did afterwards declare them good in Law. It is was alſo ſaid, that they being of the Nature of Corporations, all Deeds under their Seals were valid; and that at leaſt by their Reſignation and quitting their Houſes, they forfeited them to the King. But this was thought to ſubſiſt rather on a Nicety in Law, than Natural Equity.

Some Abbots attainted.

Others were more roughly handled. The Prior of *Woburn* was ſuſpected of a Correſpondence with the Rebels, and of favouring the Pope; he was dealt with to ſubmit to the King, and he was prevailed on to do it, but was never eaſy in it, nor fixed to it; "He complained "that the new Preachers detracted from the Ho-"nour due to the Virgin and Saints; he thought "the Religion was changed, and wondred that "the Judgments of God on Q. *Anne*, had not "terrified others from going on to ſubvert the "Faith. When the Rebellion broke out, he joyned in it, as did alſo the Abbots of *Whaley*, *Garvaux*, and *Sawley*, and the Prior of *Burlington*, all theſe were all taken, and attainted of Treaſon,

Treaſon, and Executed. The Abbots of *Glaſſenbury* and *Reading*, had alſo ſent a great deal of their Plate to the Rebels, the former to diſguiſe it the better, had made one break into the Houſe where the Plate was kept: So he was convicted both of Burglary and Treaſon, and at his Execution he confeſſed his Crime, and begged both God's and the King's Pardon for it. The Abbot of *Colcheſter* was alſo attainted, and executed; but the Grounds of it are not known: For the Records of their Attaindors are loſt. Theſe had over and over again taken the Oaths, in which they acknowledged the King to be *Supream Head of the Church*, and were preſent in thoſe Parliaments in which the ſeveral Acts about it were paſs'd, and did not diſſent to them; and ſince they made no Oppoſition, when they might ſafely and legally do it, there is no Reaſon to think they would have done it afterwards, when it was more dangerous and criminal: So that all thoſe who have repreſented them as having ſuffered for denying the King's Supremacy, have therein ſhewed their unacquaintedneſs with the Journals of Parliament. The Abbot of *Reading* had complied ſo far, that he was grown into Favour with *Cromwell*; ſo that in ſome Conteſts between *Shaxton* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and him, the Biſhop, who was a proud ill-natured Man, complained that *Cromwell* ſupported the Abbot againſt him, and writ upon that a very inſolent Expoſtulatory Letter to him; which *Cromwell* anſwered with great ſtrength of Reaſon and decency of Stile; by which it appears that the heighth of his Condition had no other Effect on him, but to make him know himſelf and others better. Upon the Attainders of thoſe Abbots, their Abbies were ſeized on; and this

Book I. 1537.

Book I. was thought a great ſtretch both in Law and Equity: For it ſeemed not reaſonable, if an In-
1537. cumbent was faulty, for that to ſeize on his Benefice, which upon his Attainder ought to continue entire, and paſs to the next Succeſſor, as if he were really dead. But a Clauſe was put in the Act of Treaſon, 26 *Hen.* 8. That *whatſoever Lands of Eſtates of Inheritance, any that ſhould be convicted of Treaſon, had in Uſe or Poſſeſſion by any Right or Manner, ſhould be forfeited to the King.* By which, as intailed Eſtates were certainly comprehended, ſo it ſeems they applied it likewiſe to Church-Benefices; yet when the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was attainted, this was not thought on. The words *Eſtate of Inheritance*, ſeemed to exclude Church-Lands; but the mention that was made of Traitors *Succeſſors*, that were cut off as well as their *Heirs*, ſeemed on the other hand to include Eſtates, to which Succeſſors might come in a Traitor's room, as well as thoſe which deſcended by Inheritance. The Words were ambiguous, and were ſtretched to juſtify thoſe Seizures; and therefore in an Act of *Treaſons* made in the next Reign, this was more cautiouſly worded; for it was provided that *Traitors* ſhould forfeit the Eſtates which they poſſeſſed *in their own Right.* But whatſoever Illegality there might be in theſe Proceedings, they were confirmed by the following Parliament, in a ſpecial *Proviſo* made concerning thoſe Abbies that were ſeized on by any Attainders of Treaſon. Many of the *Carthuſians* were executed for denying the Kings Supremacy: Others were alſo ſuſpected of favouring them, and of receiving Books ſent from beyond Sea, againſt the Kings Proceedings, and were ſhut up in their Cells, in which moſt of them died. The Prior

was

was a Man of extraordinary Charity and Good-Works, as the Visitor reported: But he was made resign with this Preamble, "That many "of the House had offended the King, and de-"served that their Lives should be taken, and "their Goods confiscated; and therefore to a-"void that, they surrendred their Houses. Great Complaints were made of the Visitors, as if they had used undue Practices to make the Abbots and Monks surrender: And it was said, that they had in many places embezel'd much of the Plate to their own Uses; and in particular, it was complained that Dr. *London* had corrupted many Nuns. They on the other hand, published many of the vile Practices that they found in those Houses, so that several Books very indecently writ, were Printed upon this Occasion; but on so foul a Subject it is not fit to stand long. No Story became so publick as that of the Prior of the Crossed-friers in *London*, who was found in bed with a Whore at Noon-day: He fell down on his Knees, and begg'd that they who surprised him, would not discover his Shame: They made him give them *Thirty Pounds*, which he protested was all he had; and he promised them as much more: But he not keeping his word to them, a Suit followed upon it. Yet all these personal Blemishes did not work much on the People. It seemed unreasonable to extinguish Noble Foundations, for the fault of some Individuals: Therefore another way was taken, which had a better Effect. Book I. 1537.

They discovered many Impostures about Relicks and wonderful Images, to which Pilgrimages had been wont to be made. At *Reading* they had an Angel's Wing, which brought over the Spear's Point that pierced our Saviour's Side: The Impostures of Images discovered.

As

Book I. As many pieces of the Cross were found, as joined together, would have made a big Cross.

1537. The Rood of *Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent*, had been much esteemed, and drawn many Pilgrims to it: It was observed to bow, and roul its Eyes, and look at times well pleased, or angry; which the credulous Multitude imputed to a Divine Power: But all this was discovered to be a Cheat, and it was brought up to St. *Pauls* Cross; and all the Springs were openly shewed, that governed its several Motions. At *Hales* in *Glocestershire*, the Blood of Christ was shewed in a Vial; and it was believed, that none could see it who were in mortal Sin: And so after good Presents were made, the deluded Pilgrims went away well satisfied if they had seen it. This was the Blood of a Duck renewed every Week, put in a Vial very thick of one side, as thin on the other; and either side turned towards the Pilgrim, as the Priests were satisfied with their Oblations: Several other such like Impostures were discovered, which contributed much to the undeceiving the People.

Becket's Shrine broken.

The richest Shrine in *England* was *Thomas Becket's* at *Canterbury*, whose Story is well known. After he had long imbroiled *England*, and shewed that he had a Spirit so turned to Faction, that he could not be at quiet; some of *Henry* the Second's officious Servants killed him in the Church of *Canterbury*: He was presently Canonized, and held in greater esteem than any other Saint whatsoever; *So much more was a Martyr for the Papacy valued, than any that suffered for the Christian Religion*: And his Altar drew far greater Oblations, than those that were dedicated to Christ, or the Blessed Virgin; as appears by the accounts of two of their

their Years. In one, *Three Pound, Two Shillings Six Pence.* And in another not a penny was offered at Christ's Altar. There was in the one, *Sixty three Pounds Five Shillings Six Pence*, and in the other *Four Pounds One Shilling Eight Pence* offered at the Blessed Virgin's Altar. But in these very Years there was *Eight hundred thirty two Pounds Twelve Shillings Three Pence*, and *Nine hundred sixty four Pounds Six Shilling Three Pence* offered at St. *Thomas*'s Altar. The Shrine grew to be of inestimable Value. *Lewis* the Seventh of *France* came over in Pilgrimage to visit it, and offered a Stone, valued to be the richest in *Europe.* He had not only one Holy Day, the 29th of *December*, called his Martyrdom; but also the Day of his Translation, the 7th of *July*, was also a Holy Day; and every 50th year there was a Jubilee, and an Indulgence granted to all that came and visited his Tomb: And sometimes there were believed to be *One hundred thousand* Pilgrims there on that Occasion. It is hard to tell whether the Hatred to his seditious Practices, or the Love of his Shrine, set on King *Henry* more to Un-Saint him. His Shrine was broken, and the Gold of it was so heavy, that it filled two Chests, which took eight Men a-piece to carry them out of the Church; and his Skull, which had been so much worshipped, was proved to be an Imposture; for the true Skull was with the rest of his Bones in his Coffin; his Bones were either burnt, as it was given out at *Rome*; or so mixed with other Bones, as our Writers say, that it had been a Miracle indeed to have distinguished them afterwards. The King called at this time a meeting of the Clergy, of Ten Bishops, Eight Arch-Deacons, and Seventeen Divines and Canonists; and

Book I. 1537.

Book I. and made them finish an Explanation of the Christian Religion. But this was afterwards
1537. digested into a better Form, as shall be told in its proper place.

The Pope thunders against the King.

When all these things were known at *Rome*, all the Eloquent Pens *there* were imployed to represent King *Henry* as the most Sacrilegious Tyrant that ever was; that made War with Christ's Vicar on Earth, and his Saints in Heaven; and he was compared to the worst Princes that ever reigned; to *Pharaoh*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Belshazzar*, *Nero*, and *Diocleſian*; but the *Parallel* with *Julian* the Apostate was most insisted on. It was said, he copied after him in all things; save only, that his Manners were worse. In many of these, Cardinal *Pool*'s Stile was pretended to be known; and they were all at least much encouraged by him, which provoked the King to hate him most implacably. The Pope went further; for now he published all those Thunders, with which he had threatned him three Years before. "He pretended, that as "God's Vicar, he had power to root out, and "destroy; and had Authority over all the Kings "in the World: And therefore after he had e-"numerated all the Kings Crimes, he required "Himself to appear within Ninety days, at "*Rome*, either in Person, or by Proxy, and all "his Complices within Sixty days; and if he "and they did not appear, he declared him to "have fallen from his Crown; and them from "their Estates. He put the Kingdom under an "Interdict; and absolved his Subjects from their "Oaths of Allegiance; He declared him and his "Complices Infamous; and put their Children "under Incapacities. He required all the Cler-"gy to go out of *England*, within five Days af-

"ter

" ter the time prefixed ſhould expire; leaving Book I.
" only ſo many as might ſerve for baptizing
" Children, or giving the Sacrament to ſuch as 1537.
" died in Penitence. He charged all his Sub-
" jects to riſe in Arms againſt him, and that
" none ſhould aſſiſt him. He abſolved all other
" Princes from their Confederacies with him,
" and obteſted them to have no more Commerce
" with him. He required all Chriſtians to make
" War on him; and to ſeize on the Perſons and
" Goods of all his Subjects; and make Slaves
" of them. He charged all Biſhops to publiſh
" the Sentence with due Solemnities; and or-
" dained it to be affixed at *Rome*, *Tournay* and
" *Dunkirk*. This was firſt given out the 30*th* of *Auguſt*, 1535; but it had been all this while ſuſpended, till the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries, and the burning of *Becket*'s Bones, did ſo inflame the Pope, that he reſolved to forbear going to Extremities no longer. So on the 17th. of *December* this Year, the Pope publiſhed the Bull, which he ſaid, he had ſo long ſuſpended at the Interceſſion of ſome Princes, who hoped that King *Henry* might have been reclaimed by gentler Methods; and therefore ſince it appeared that he grew ſtill worſe and worſe, he was forced to proceed to his Fulminations. By this Sentence it is certain, That either the Pope's Infallibility muſt be confeſſed to be a Cheat put upon the World, or if any believe it, they muſt acknowledge that the Power of depoſing Princes, is really lodged in that Chair: For this was not a ſudden fit of Paſſion, but was done *ex Cathedra*, with all the Deliberation they ever admit of. The Sentence was in ſome particulars without a Precedent; but as to the main Points of Depoſing the King, and abſolving his Subjects from

Book I. from their Obedience, there was abundance of Inſtances to be brought in theſe laſt Five Hundred
1537. Years, to ſhew that this had been all along aſſerted as the Right of the Papacy. The Pope writ alſo to the Kings of *France*, and *Scotland*, with deſign to inflame them againſt King *Henry*: And if this had been an Age of *Croiſſades*, no doubt there had been one undertaken againſt him; for it was held to be as meritorious, if not more, to make War on Him, than on the Turk. But now the Thunders of the *Vatican* had loſt their force.

The Biſhops of *England* aſſert the King's Power, and the Nature of Eccleſiaſtical Offices.

The King got all the Biſhops, and Eminent Divines of *England*, to ſign a Declaration againſt all Church-men, who pretended to the Power of the Sword, or to Authority over Kings; and that all that aſſumed ſuch Powers, were Subverters of the Kingdom of Chriſt. Many of the Biſhops did alſo ſign another Paper, declaring the Limits of the Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Power, that both had their Authority from God, for ſeveral Ends and different Natures; and that Princes were ſubject to the Word of God, as well as Biſhops ought to be obedient to their Laws. There was alſo another Declaration made, ſigned by *Cromwell*, the Two Archbiſhops, Eleven Biſhops, and Twenty Divines; aſſerting the Diſtinction between the Power of the Keys, and the Power of the Sword. The former was not abſolute, but limitted by the Scripture. *Orders* were declared to be a Sacrament Inſtituted by Chriſt, which were conferred by Prayer, and Impoſition of Hands. And that in the New Teſtament no mention was made of any other Ranks, but of Deacons, or Miniſters; and of Prieſts, or Biſhops. After this, the uſe of all the inferiour Degrees of Lectures, Acolyths, *&c.* was laid down.

down. These were set up about the beginning of the 3d Century; for in the middle of that Age, mention is made of them, both by *Cornelius* and *Cyprian*; and they were intended to be degrees of Probation, through which Men were to ascend to the higher Functions. But the Canonists had found out so many distinctions of Benefices; and that a simple Tonsure qualified a Man for several of them; that these Institutions became either a matter of Form only, or were made a Colour for Lay-men to possess Ecclesiastical Benefices. In this, and several other Books of that time, *Bishops* and *Priests* are spoken of, as being both one Office. In the Ancient Church there were different Ordinations, and different Functions belonging to these Offices, tho' the Superiour was believed to include the inferiour. But in the latter Ages, both the School-men and Canonists seemed on different Grounds to have designed to make them appear to have been the same Office; and that the one was only a higher Degree in the same Order. The School-men, to magnify *Transubstantiation*, extolled the Office, by which that was performed so high, and the Canonists to exalt the Pope's Universal Authority, depress the Office of Bishops so low, (to make them seem only the Pope's Delegates, and that their Jurisdiction was not from Christ) That by these means, these two Offices were thought so near one another, that they differed only in Degree: And this was so well observed at *Trent*, that the Establishing the Episcopal Jurisdiction, as founded on a Divine Right, was apprehended as one of the fatallest Blows that could have been given to the Papacy. This being at this time so commonly received, it is no wonder, if before that

Book I. 1537.

Matter

Book I. 1537. Matter came to be more exactly enquired into, ſome of the Reformers writ more careleſly in the Explanations they made of theſe Offices, which is ſo far from being an Argument, that they were, upon due Enquiry, of another mind; that it is to be look'd on as a part of the Dregs of Popery, flowing from the Belief of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and the *Pope's Supremacy*, of which, all the Conſequences were not ſo early obſerved.

The Bible in Engliſh, and New Injunctions.

This Year the *Engliſh Bible* was finiſhed. The Tranſlation was ſent over to *Paris* to be Printed there, for the Workmen in *England* were not thought able to go about it. *Bonner* was then Embaſſadour in *France*; and he obtained a Licence of *Francis* for Printing it; but upon a Complaint made by the *French* Clergy, the Preſs was ſtopt, and many of the Copies were ſeized on, and burnt. So it was brought over to *England*, and was undertaken, and now finiſhed by *Graſton*. *Cromwell* procured a General Warrant from the King, allowing all his Subjects to read it; for which, *Cranmer* wrote his thanks to *Cromwell*; "And rejoyced to ſee the Day of "Reformation now riſen in *England*, ſince the "Word of God did ſhine over it all, without a "Cloud. Not long after this, *Cromwell* gave "out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to ſet "up Bibles in their Churches, and to encourage "all to read them. He alſo exhorted the Peo"ple not to diſpute about the Senſe of difficult "Places, but to leave that to Men of better "Judgments. Incumbents were required to in"ſtruct the People, and teach them the Creed, "the Lords Prayer, and the Ten Command"ments, in Engliſh: And that once every Quar"ter there ſhould be a Sermon, to declare the

"true

" true Gospel of Christ; and to exhort the Peo- Book I.
" ple to Works of Charity; and not to trust to
" other Mens Works, to Pilgrimages, or Relicks, 1538.
" or the saying their Beads, which tended to
" Superstition. Images, abused by Pilgri-
" mages made to them, were ordered to be ta-
" ken away. No Candle was to be before any
" Image, but the Crucifix: And they were to
" teach the People, that it was Idolatry to make
" any other use of Images, but meerly to put
" them in mind of those whom they represented:
" And such as had formerly magnified Images,
" or Pilgrimages, were required openly to re-
" cant and confess, that they had been led into
" an Errour, which Covetousness had brought
" into the Church. All Incumbents were re-
" quired to keep Registers for Christnings, and
" Marriages; and to teach the People that it
" were good to omit the Suffrages to the Saints
" in the Litany. These struck at some of the
main Points of the former Superstition, both a-
bout Images, Pilgrimages, and the Invocation of
Saints: But the free Use of the Scriptures gave
the deadliest Blow of all. Yet all the Clergy
submitted to them without any Murmuring.

Prince *Edward* was this Year born; and this very much blasted the Hopes of the Popish Party, which were chiefly built on the probability of Lady *Mary*'s succeeding to the Crown, which was now set at a greater distance. So both *Lee*, *Gardiner*, and *Stokesley*, seemed to vie with the Bishops of the other Party, which of them should most zealously execute the Injunctions, and thereby insinuate themselves most into the King's Esteem and Favour. *Gardiner* was some Years Ambassadour in *France*, but *Cromwell* got *Bonner* to be sent in his room, who seemed then to be

Prince *Edward* born.

Book I. 1538. the moſt zealous Promoter of the Reformation that was then in *England*. After that, *Gardiner* was ſent to the Emperour's Court with Sir *Henry Knevet*, and there he gave ſome occaſion to ſuſpect that he was treating a Reconciliation with the Pope's Legate. But the *Italian* that managed it, being ſent with a Meſſage to the Ambaſſadour's Secretary, he miſtook *Knevet*'s Secretary for *Gardiner*'s, and told his Buſineſs to him. *Knevet* tried what could be made of it, but could not carry it far: For the *Italian* was diſowned, and put in Priſon upon it: And *Gardiner* complained of it, as a Trapan laid to ruin him. The King continued ſtill to employ him; but rather made uſe of him, than truſted him: Yet *Gardiner*'s Artifices and Flatteries were ſuch, that he was ſtill preſerved in ſome Degrees of Favour, as long as the King lived; but he knew him ſo well, that he neither named him one of his Executors, nor one of his Son's Council, when he made his Will. *Gardiner* uſed one *Topick* which prevailed much with the King, that his Zeal againſt Hereſy was the greateſt Advantage that his Cauſe could have over all *Europe*: and therefore he preſt him to begin with the Sacramentaries (ſo were thoſe of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion called) and thoſe being condemned by the *German* Princes, he had the leſs reaſon to be afraid of imbroiling his Affairs by his Severities againſt them.

Lambert is condemned and burnt for denying the Corporal Preſence.

This meeting ſo well with the King's own Perſuaſions about the Corporal Preſence, had a great Effect on him; and an occaſion did quickly offer it ſelf to him, to declare his Zeal in that matter. *Lambert* was at that time accuſed before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: He had been Chaplain to the Factory of *Antwerp*, and there

there he associated himself to *Tindall*: Afterwards he was seized on coming over to *England*; but upon the Changes that followed, he was set at Liberty. Dr. *Taylor* had Preached on the Corporal Presence in his hearing: This offended him, and he drew up his Reasons against it, and gave them to *Taylor*. He communicated it to *Barns*, who was a hot Man, and a fierce *Lutheran*: And they thought that the venting that Opinion, would stop the Progress of the Reformation, give Prejudice to the People, and divide them among themselves: And therefore they brought this matter before *Cranmer*, who was at that time likewise a *Lutheran*, he dealt with *Lambert* to retract his Paper; but he took a fatal Resolution, and appealed to the King. Upon which, the King resolved to Judge him in Person, and to manage the Trial with great Solemnity; and for that end, many of the Nobility and Bishops were sent for. When the Day came, there was a vast Appearance. The King's Guards and Cloath of State, were all in white, to make it look the liker a Divine Service. *Lambert* begun with a Complement, acknowledging the King's great Learning, and his Goodness in hearing the Causes of his Subjects. The King stop'd him, and bad him forbear Flatteries, and speak to the matter: And he argued against him from Christ's Words, That the Sacrament must be his Body. *Lambert* answered in St. *Austin*'s Words, That it *was his Body in a certain manner*, but that a Body could not be in two places at once. To this, the King commanded *Cranmer* to speak; and he argued, That since Christ is still in Heaven, and yet he appeared to St. *Paul*, that therefore he may be in different places at once. *Lam-*

Book I. 1538.

Book I. 1538.

bert ſaid, That was but a Viſion, and was not the very Body of Chriſt. *Tonſtall* argued, That the Divine Omnipotence was not to be meaſured by our Notions, of what was impoſſible. *Stokeſley* argued, That one Subſtance may be changed into another, and yet the Accidents remain: So Water when it boiled, did evaporate in Air, and yet its Moiſture remained. This was received with great Applauſe; tho' it was an ill Inference, that becauſe there was an accidental Converſion, therefore there might be a ſubſtantial one, in which one Subſtance was annihilated, and another produced in its place. Ten, one after another Diſputed, and their Arguments, with the ſtern Words and Looks that the King interpoſed, together with the length of the Action, in ſo publick an Aſſembly, put *Lambert* in ſome Confuſion; and upon his Silence, a great Shout of Applauſe followed. In concluſion, the King asked him, if he was not convinced, and whether he would live or die? But he continued firm to his Opinion: So *Cromwell* was commanded to read the Sentence of his Condemnation; and not many Days after, it was executed in a moſt barbarous manner, in *Smithfield*: For there was not Fire enough put under him to conſume him ſuddenly; ſo that his Legs and Thighs were burnt away while he was yet alive. He bore it patiently, and continued to cry out, *None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt.* He was a Man of conſiderable Learning, and of a very good Judgment. The Popiſh Party improved this, and perſuaded the King of the good Effects it would have on his People, who would in this ſee his Zeal for the Faith; and they forgot not to magnify all that he had ſaid, as if it had been uttered by an Oracle; which proved him to be both *Defender*

der of the Faith, and Supream Head of the Church. All this wrought ſo much on the King, that he reſolved to call a Parliament, both for the ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries, and the new Opinions. Book I. 1538.

Fox, Biſhop of *Hereford*, died at this time: He had been much imployed in *Germany*, and had ſettled a League between the King and the *German* Princes. The King was acknowledged the Patron of their League; and he ſent them over *One hundred thouſand Crowns* a Year, for the ſupport of it. There was a Religious League alſo propoſed; but upon the turn that followed in the Court upon Queen *Anne*'s Death, that fell to the ground; and all that was put in their League relating to Religion, was, That they ſhould joyn againſt the Pope as the Common Enemy, and ſet up the true Religion according to the Goſpel. But the Treaty about other Points was afterwards ſet on foot. The King deſired *Melancthon* to come over; and ſeveral Letters paſſed between them, but he could not be ſpared out of *Germany*; tho' he was then invited both to *France* and *England*. The *Germans* ſent over ſome to treat with the King; the Points they inſiſted moſt on, were, The granting the Chalice to the People, and the putting down private Maſſes, in which the Inſtitution ſeemed expreſs; the having the Worſhip in a known Tongue, which both common ſenſe, and the Authority of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, ſeemed to juſtify much. The third was Marriage of the Clergy; for they being extream ſenſible of the Honour of their Families, reckoned, that could not be ſecured, unleſs the Prieſts might Marry. Concerning theſe things, their Ambaſſadours gave a long and

Treaties with the *German* Princes.

Book I. learned Memoral to the King; to which, an Answer was made, penned by *Tonstall*; in
1538. which, the things they complained of, were justified by the ordinary Arguments. Upon *Fox*'s Death, *Bonner* was promoted to *Hereford*; and *Stokesley* dying not long after, he was translated to *London*. *Cromwell* thought that he had raised a Man that would be a faithful Second to *Cranmer* in his Designs of Reformation, who indeed needed help; not only to ballance the Opposition made him by other Bishops, but to lessen the Prejudices he suffered by the weakness and Indiscretion of his own Party, who were generally rather Clogs than Helps to him. Great Complaints were brought to the Court of the rashness of the new Preachers, who were flying at many things not yet abolished. Upon this, Letters were writ to the Bishops, to take care that as the People should be rightly Instructed; so they should not be offended with too many Novelties. Thus was *Cranmer*'s Interest so low, that he had none to depend on but *Cromwell*. There was not now a Queen in the King's Bosom to support them; and therefore *Cromwell* set himself to contrive how the King should be engaged in such an Alliance with the Princes of *Germany*, as might prevail with him, both in Affection and Interest, to carry on what he had thus begun. And the Beauty of *Anne Cleve* was so represented to him, that he set himself to bring about that Match.

A Parliament was summoned to meet the 28*th* of *April*, in which, Twenty of the Abbots sate in Person. On the 5*th* of *May*, a Motion was made, that some might be appointed to draw a Bill against diversity of Opinions in Matters of Religion; these were *Cromwell*, *Cranmer*, the Bishops

The Act of the Six Articles.

Biſhops of *Dureſme*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Bangor*, *Carliſle*, and *Worceſter*; they were divided in their Minds; and tho' the Popiſh Party were five to four, yet the Authority that *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* were in, turned the Ballance a little; but after they had met Eleven Days they ended in nothing. Upon that the Duke of *Norfolk* propoſed the Six Articles; The firſt was for the Corporal Preſence. 2. For Communion in one Kind. 3. For obſerving the Vows of Chaſtity. 4. For private Maſſes. 5. For the Celibate of the Clergy. And the ſixth, was for Auricular Confeſſion: Againſt moſt of theſe, *Cranmer* argued ſeveral Days. It is not like he oppoſed the firſt, both becauſe of that which he had declared in *Lambert*'s Caſe ſo lately, and in his own Opinion, he was then for it; but he had the Words of the Inſtitution, and the conſtant Practice of the Church for Twelve Ages to object to the ſecond: And for the third, ſince the Monks were ſet at liberty to live in the World, it ſeemed hard to reſtrain them from Marriage, and nothing did ſo effectually cut off their *Pretenſions* to their former Houſes, as their being married would do. For the fourth, if private Maſſes were uſeful, then the King had done very ill to ſuppreſs ſo many Houſes, that were chiefly founded for that end: The Sacrament was alſo by its firſt Inſtitution, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, to be a Communion, and all thoſe private Maſſes were invented to cheat the World. For the fifth, it touched *Cranmer* in the quick; for it was believed that he was marryed; but the Arguments uſed for that, will be found in the next Book. For Auricular Confeſſion, *Lee*, *Gardiner* and *Tonſtall*, preſs'd much to have it declared neceſſary by the *Law of God*.

Book I. 1538.

Duke of *Norfolk* propoſeth the Six Articles.

Book I. *Cranmer* argued againſt this, and ſaid, it was only a good and profitable thing. The King
1536. came often to the Houſe in Perſon, and Diſputed in theſe Points: For the greateſt part he was againſt *Cranmer*; but in this particular he joyned with him. *Tonſtall* drew up all the Quotations brought from Antient Authors for it, in a Paper which he delivered to the King; this the King anſwered in a long Letter, written with his own Hand, in which he ſhewed, that the Fathers did only adviſe Confeſſion, but did not impoſe it as neceſſary: And ſo it was concluded in general, that it was *expedient and neceſſary*. On the 24*th* of *May*, the Parliament was Prorogued a few Days, but by a Vote it was provided that the Bills ſhould continue in the ſtate they were then in. At their next meeting, two Committees were appointed to draw the Bill of Religion; *Cranmer* was the chief of the one, and *Lee* of the other; both their Draughts were carried to the King, and were in many places corrected with his own Hand; in ſome Parts he writ whole Periods a-new. That which *Lee* drew, was more agreeable to the King's Opinion; ſo it was brought into the Houſe. *Cranmer* argued three Days againſt it; and when it came to the Vote, the King, who was much ſet on having it paſt, deſired him to go out, but he excuſed himſelf; for he thought he was bound in Conſcience to Vote againſt it: But the reſt that oppoſed it, were more compliant, and it alſo paſſed without any conſiderable Oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons, and was aſſented to by the King.

"The Subſtance of it was, That the King be-
"ing ſenſible of the good of Union, and of the
"miſchief of Diſcord, in Points of Religion,

"had

" had come to the Parliament in Perſon, and Book I.
" opened many things of high Learning there; ~~~
" and that with the aſſent of both Houſes, he 1539.
" ſet forth theſe Articles.

" 1. That in the Sacrament there was no Sub-
" ſtance of Bread and Wine, but only the natu-
" ral Body and Blood of Chriſt.

" 2. That Chriſt was entirely in each Kind,
" and ſo Communion in both was not neceſ-
" ſary.

" 3. That Prieſts by the Law of God ought
" not to marry.

" 4. That Vows of Chaſtity taken after the
" Age of 21, ought to be kept.

" 5. That private Maſſes were lawful and
" uſeful.

" 6. That Auricular Confeſſion was neceſſary,
" and ought to be retained. Such as did ſpeak
" or write againſt the firſt of theſe, were to be
" burned without the benefit of Abjuration;
" and it was made Felony to diſpute againſt the
" other five: And ſuch as did ſpeak againſt *them*,
" were to be in a *Premunire* for the firſt Of-
" fence; the ſecond was made Felony. Mar-
" ried Prieſts that did not put away their
" Wives, were to be condemned of Felony, in
" thoſe that lived Incontinently; the firſt Of-
" fence was a *Premunire*, and the ſecond Felo-
" ny. Women that offended, were to be pu-
" niſhed as the Prieſts were. Thoſe that con-
" temned Confeſſion and the Sacrament, and ab-
" ſtained from it at the accuſtomed times, were
" for the firſt Offence in a *Premunire*, the ſe-
" cond was Felony. Proceedings were to be
" made in the Forms of Common Law, by Pre-
" ſentments, and a Jury, and all Church-men
" were charged to read the Act in their Churches
" once a Quarter. This

Book I. This Act was received with great Joy by all the Popish Party; they reckoned that now Heresy would be extirpated, and that the King was as much engaged against it, as he was when he writ against *Luther*: This made the suppression of the Monasteries pass much the easier. The Poor Reformers were now exposed to the Rage of their Enemies, and had no Comfort from any part of it, but one, that they were not delivered up to the Cruelty of the Ecclesiastical Courts, or the Trials *ex officio*, but were to be tried by Juries; yet the denying the benefit of Abjuration, was a Severity without a Precedent, and was a forcing Martyrdom on them, since they were not to be the better for their Apostacy. It was some satisfaction to the married Clergy, that the Incontinent Priests were to be so severely punished; which *Cromwell* put in, and the Clergy knew not how they could decently oppose it. Upon the passing the Act, the *German* Ambassadours being set on to it by those that favoured their Doctrine in *England*, desired an Audience of the King, and told him of the Grief with which their Masters would receive the News of this Act; and therefore earnestly press'd him to stop the Execution of it. The King answered, That he found it necessary to have the Act made, for repressing the Insolence of some People; but assured them it would not be put in Execution, except upon great Provocation. When the Princes heard of the Act, they writ to the King to the same purpose: They warned him of many Bishops that were about him, who in their Hearts loved Popery, and all the old Abuses; and took this method to force the King to return back to the former Yoke, hoping that if they once made him Cruel to all those they called Hereticks, it would

1539. Censures past upon it.

would be eaſy to bring him back to ſubmit to that Tyranny, which he had ſhaken off; and therefore they propoſed a Conference between ſome Divines of both ſides, in order to an Agreement of Doctrine. The King was only concerned upon State Maxims, to keep up their League in Oppoſition to the Emperour; but they ſtill preſs'd a Religious as well as a Civil League. Book I. 1539.

After the Act of the Six Articles, the Act for ſupreſſing the Monaſteries was brought in; and tho' there were ſo many Abbots ſitting in the Houſe, none of them proteſted againſt it; "By "it no Monaſtery was ſuppreſſed, but only the "Reſignations made or to be made, were con- "firmed; and the King's Right founded either on "their Surrenders, Forfeitures, or Attainders of "Treaſon, was declared good in Law. Houſes "ſurrendred were to be managed by *the Court "of Augmentations*; but thoſe ſeized on by At- "tainders, were to come to the Exchequer. All "Perſons except the Founders and Donors were "to have the ſame Rights to the Lands, belong- "ing to theſe Houſes, that they had before "this Act was made. All Deeds and Leaſes "made for a Year before this, to the preju- "dice of theſe Houſes were annulled; and all "the Churches belonging to them, and former- "ly exempted, were put under the Juriſdiction "of the Biſhop, or of ſuch as ſhould be ap- "pointed by the King. This laſt *Proviſo* has produced a great Miſchief in this Church; for many that purchaſed Abbey-Lands, had this Clauſe put in their Grants, That they ſhould be the Viſitors of the Churches, and by this they continue ſtill exempted from the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; and this has emboldened many to break out into great Scandals, which have been made

An Act for ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries.

uſe

Book I. 1539. use of by prejudiced Men to cast an Obloquy on the Church; tho' this Disorder proceeds only from the want of Authority in the Bishops to Censure them. A Question was raised upon this Suppression, Whether the Lands should have reverted to the Donors, or been escheated to the Crown. By a Judgment of the *Roman* Senate in *Theodosius*'s time, all the Endowments of the *Heathenish Temples* were given to *Fisc*; and tho' the Heirs of the *Donors* pretended to them, yet it was said, that by the Gifts that their Ancestors made, they were totally alienated from them and their Heirs. When the Order of the *Templers* was suppressed, their Lands went to the Lord by an Escheat. This might seem reasonable in Endowmenrs that were simple Gifts, without any Conditions: But the Grants to Religious Houses were of the Nature of Covenants, given in consideration of the Masses, that were to be said for them and their Families; and therefore it was inferred, that when the Cheat of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory was discovered, and these Houses were suppres's'd, then the Lands ought to revert to the Heirs of the *Donors*; and upon that account it was thought necessary to exclude them by a special *Proviso*.

An Act for new Bishopricks.

Another Bill was brought in, impowering the King to erect new Bishopricks by his Letters Pattents; it was read three times in one Day in the House of Lords. "The Preamble set forth, "That the ill Lives of those that were call-"ed Religious, made it necessary to change "their Houses to better Uses, for teaching the "Word of God, instructing of Children, edu-"cating of Clerks, relieving of old infirm Peo-"ple, the endowing of Readers for Greek,

"Latin

" Latin and Hebrew, mending of High-ways, Book I.
" and the bettering the Condition of the Pariſh
" Prieſts; and for this end the King was im- 1539.
" powered to erect new Sees, and to aſſign what
" Limits and Diviſions, and appoint them what
" Statutes he pleaſed. I have ſeen the firſt Draught of this Preamble all written with the King's own Hand; and indeed he uſed extraordinary Care in correcting both Acts of Parliament and Proclamations with his own Hand: All Papers in matters of Religion, that were ſet out by publick Authority in this Reign, were reviſed by him, and in many places large Corrections are to be ſeen, made with his own Hand, which ſhew both his great Judgment in thoſe Matters, and his extraordinary Application to Buſineſs; but as he was fond of his two acquired Titles, of *Defender of the Faith*, and *Supream Head of the Church*, and loved to ſhew that he did not carry them in vain; ſo there was nothing which he affected more, than to diſcover his Learning and Underſtanding in Matters of Religion. He writ alſo a Liſt of all the new Sees which he intended to found, which were, *Waltham* for *Eſſex*, St. *Albans* for *Hartford*, another for *Bedfordſhire* and *Buckinghamſhire* out of the Monaſteries of *Dunſtable*, *Newenham*, and *Clowſtown*; another for *Oxfordſhire* and *Berkſhire*, out of the Rents of *Oſney* and *Tame*; one for *Northampton* and *Huntington*, out of *Peterborough*; one for *Middleſex*, out of *Weſtminſter*; one for *Leiceſter* and *Rutland*, out of *Leiceſter*; one for *Gloceſterſhire*, out of St. *Peters* in *Gloceſter*; one for *Lancaſhire*, out of *Fountain*, and the Arch-Deaconry of *Richmond*; one for *Suffolk* out of *Edmundsbury*; one for *Stafford* and *Salop* out of *Shrewsbury*; one for

Book I. 1539. for *Nottingham* and *Darby* out of *Welbeck*, *Wer-ſop*, and *Thurgarton*; and one for *Cornwall* out of the Rents of *Lanceſton*, *Bodmyn*, and *Wardreth*: Over theſe he writ, *Biſhoprieks to be made*; and in another part of the ſame Paper he writ *Places to be altered, which have Sees in them, and names* Chriſt-Church in *Canterbury*, St. *Swithin*'s and ſeveral others; a little under that, he writ, *Places to be altered into Colledges and Schools*, but mentions only *Burton upon Trent*. Neither *Cheſter* nor *Briſtol* are named here, tho Epiſcopal Sees were afterwards erected in them. The King had formed a great Deſign of endowing many Sees, and making many other noble Foundations; yet the great Change that was made in the Councils and Miniſtery, before this took Effect, made that only a ſmall part of that, which he now intended, was accompliſhed. Another Act was brought in, concerning the Obedience due to the King's Proclamations, which ſet forth, "That great Exceptions had been made to the Legality of the "King's Proclamations, by ſome who did not "conſider what a King might do by his Royal "Power; which the King took very ill: And "ſince many Occaſions called for ſpeedy Reme-"dies, and could not admit of *Delays* till a Par-"liament might be called; therefore it was "enacted, that ſuch Proclamations as the King "ſet out by Advice of his Council, with Pains "upon Offenders, ſhould be obeyed as if they "were Acts of Parliament; yet it was provid-"ed that no Laws nor Cuſtoms might be taken "away by them, and that the Subjects ſhould "not ſuffer in their Eſtates, Liberties or Per-"ſons by them. If any offended againſt them, "and fled out of the Kingdom, that was made "*Treaſon.*

An Act for Proclamations.

" *Treaſon.* It was alſo provided, that if the Book I.
" Kings Heirs ſhould Reign before they were of
" Age, the Proclamations ſet out by the Privy 1539.
" Council, ſhould have the like force in Law.
By this the Injunctions that had been given, or ſhould be thereafter given, were now legally authorized. The Statute of Precedence paſt in this Parliament. The King's *Vicegerent* was to take place of all after the Royal Family, and next him among the Clergy, came the two Arch-biſhops, then the Biſhops of *London* and *Dureſme*, after them the Biſhop of *Winchester*, as Prelate of the Garter, and all the other Biſhops were to take place according to the Date of their Conſecrations.

The Statute of Precedence of the Biſhops.

A Bill of Attainder paſt, not only confirming the Sentences that had been given againſt the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, the Lord *Montacute*, and others, that had been condemned at common Law; but of ſome that were of new attainted without a Trial: of theſe ſome were abſent, and others were in Priſon; but it was not thought fit to bring them to make their Anſwers: The chief of theſe were the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and the Counteſs of *Sarum* (Mother to Cardinal *Pool*:) It was queſtioned whether this could be done in Law or not. The Judges delivered their Opinion, that it was againſt natural Juſtice to condemn any without hearing them; and that when the Parliament proceed as a Court, they were obliged to follow the common Rules of Equity; but if they did otherwiſe, yet ſince they were the Supream Court of the Nation, whatſoever they did, could not be reverſed. The latter part of this was laid hold on, and the former was neglected, ſo that Act paſt. This Counſel was aſcribed to *Cromwell*, and he being the

Some attainted without being heard.

Book I. 1539. the first that was Executed upon such a Sentence gave occasion to many to observe the Justice of God, in making ill Counsels turn upon those that gave them.

The King's kindness to *Cranmer*.

When the Parliament was Prorogued, the King ordered *Cranmer* to put in writing all the Arguments he had used against the Six Articles, and bring them to him. He sent also both *Cromwell* and the Duke of *Norfolk* to dine with him, and to assure him of the Constancy of his Kindness to him. At Table they expressed great Esteem for him, and acknowledged that he had oppos'd the Six Articles with so much Learning and Gravity, that those who differed most from him, could not but value him highly for it; and that he needed not to fear any thing from the King: *Cromwell* said the King made that difference between him and the rest of his Council, that he would not so much as hearken to any Complaints that were made of him, and made a Parallel between him and Cardinal *Wolsey*; the one lost his Friends by his Pride, and the other gained on his Enemies by his Humility and Mildness: The Duke of *Norfolk* said, he could speak best of the Cardinal, having been his *Man* so long. This heated *Cromwell*, who answered, that he never liked his *Manners*, and tho' *Wolsey* had intended if he had been chosen Pope, to have carried him with him to *Italy*; yet he was resolved not to have gone, tho' he knew the Duke intended to have gone with him. Upon this, the Duke of *Norfolk* Swore he lied, and gave him foul Language. This put all the Company in great Disorder: They were in some sort reconciled, but were never hearty Friends after this. *Cranmer* put his Reasons against the Six Articles together, and gave them to his Secretary

cretary to be written out in a fair Hand for the King's uſe: But he croſſing the *Thames* with the Book in his Boſom, met with ſuch an Adventure on the Water as might have at another time ſent the Author to the Fire. There was a Bear baited near the River, which breaking looſe, run into it, and happened to over-turn the Boat in which *Cranmer*'s Secretary was, and he being in danger of his Life, took no care of the Book, which falling from him, floated on the River, and was taken up by the Bear-Ward, and put in the Hand of a Prieſt that ſtood by, to ſee what it might contain; he preſently found it was a Confutation of the Six Articles, and ſo told the Bear-Ward, that the Author of it would certainly be hanged. So when the Secretary came to ask for it, and ſaid it was the Archbiſhop's Book; the other that was an obſtinate Papiſt, refuſed to give it, and reckoned that now *Cranmer* would be certainly ruined: But the Secretary acquainted *Cromwell* with it; he called for him next Day, and chid him ſeverely for preſuming to keep a Privy-Counſellor's Book, and ſo he took it out of his Hands: Thus *Cranmer* was delivered out of this Danger. *Shaxton* and *Latimer* not only reſigned their Biſhopricks, but being preſented for ſome Words ſpoken againſt the Six Articles, they were put in Priſon, where they lay till a Recantation diſcharged the one, and the King's Death ſet the other at liberty. There were but about 500 others preſented on the ſame account, but upon the Interceſſions of *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, and others, they were ſet at liberty, and there was a ſtop put to the further Execution of the Act till *Cromwell* fell. Book I. 1539.

The Biſhops of the Popiſh Party took ſtrange Methods to inſinuate themſelves into the King's

Book I. Confidence; for they took out Commissions by which they acknowledged, "That all Jurisdiction, Civil and Ecclesiastical, flowed from the King, and that they exercised it only at the King's Courtesy; and as they had of his Bounty, so they would be ready to deliver it up when he should be pleased to call for it; and therefore the King did impower them in his stead, to Ordain, give Institution, and do all the other parts of the Episcopal Function, which was to last during his Pleasure: And a mighty charge was given them to Ordain none but Persons of great Integrity, good Life, and well Learned; for since the corruption of Religion flowed from ill Pastors, so the Reformation of it was to be expected chiefly from good Pastors. By this they were made indeed the King's Bishops: In this *Bonner* set an Example to the rest, but it does not appear that *Cranmer* took out any such Commission all this Reign.

1539. Bishops hold their Sees at the King's Pleasure.

Now came on the total Dissolution of the Abbies, 57 Surrenders were made this Year (of which 30 are yet extant) of these 37 were Monasteries, and 20 were Nunneries; and among them 12 were Parliamentary Abbies; which were in all 28, *Abington*, St. *Albans*, St. *Austin's Canterbury*, *Battell*, St. *Bennets* in the Holm, *Bardeny*, *Cirencester*, *Colchester*, *Coventry*, *Croyland*, St. *Edmundsbury*, *Evesham*, *Glassenbury*, *Glocester*, *Hide*, *Malmsbury*, St. *Mary* in *York*, *Peterborough*, *Ramsey*, *Selby*, *Shrewsbury*, *Tavistock*, *Tewksbury*, *Thorney*, *Waltham*, *Westminster*, and *Winchelcomb.* When all had thus resigned, Commissioners were appointed by the Court of Augmentations to seize on the Revenues and Goods belonging to these Houses, to establish

All the Monasteries suppreſt.

bliſh the Penſions that were to be given to every one that had been in them, and to pull down the Churches, or ſuch other parts of the Fabrick, as they thought ſuperfluous, and to ſell the Materials of them. When this was done, others began to get Hoſpitals to be ſurrendred to the King, *Thirleby* being Maſter of St. *Thomas*'s Hoſpital in *Southwark*, was the firſt that ſet an Example to the reſt, he was ſoon after made a Biſhop, and turned with every Change that followed, till Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, and then he refuſed to comply, tho' he had gone along with all the Changes that were made in King *Edward*'s time. The valued Rents of the Abbey-Lands as they were then let, was *One hundred thirty two thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeven Pounds ſix ſhillings and four pence*; but they were worth about ten times ſo much in true value. The King had now in his Hand the greateſt Advantage that ever King of *England* had, both for enriching the Crown, and making Royal Foundations. But ſuch was his Eaſineſs to his Courtiers, and his Laviſhneſs, that all this melted away in a few Years, and his Deſigns were never accompliſhed; he intended to have founded Eighteen new Biſhopricks, but he founded only Six: Other great Projects did alſo become abortive. In particular, one that was deſigned by Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, which was a Seminary for States-Men: He propoſed the erecting a Houſe for Perſons of Quality, or of extraordinary Endowments, for the ſtudy of the Civil Law, and of the Latin and French Tongues; of whom, ſome were to be ſent with every Ambaſſadour beyond Sea, to be improved in the Knowledge of Foreign Affairs, in which they ſhou'd be imployed as they grew capable of them:

Book I. 1539.

The yearly Rents of the Abbey-lands

Book I. them: And others were to be ſet to work to write the Hiſtory of the Tranſactions abroad, and
1539. of Affairs at home. This was to ſupply one Loſs that was like to follow on the Fall of Abbies; for in moſt of them there was kept a Chronicle of the Times. Theſe were written by Men that were more credulous than judicious; and ſo they are often more particular in the recital of Trifles, than of important Affairs, and an invincible Humour of Lying, when it might raiſe the Credit of their Order or Houſe, runs through all their Manuſcripts. All the Ground that *Cranmer* gained this Year, in which there was ſo much loſt, was a Liberty that all private Perſons might have Bibles in their Houſes, the managing of which was put in *Cromwell*'s Hands by a ſpecial Pattent: *Gardiner* oppoſed it vehemently, and built much on this, that without Tradition it was impoſſible to underſtand the meaning of the Scriptures; and one day before the King, he challenged *Cranmer* to ſhew any Difference between the Scriptures and the Apoſtles Canons. It is not known how *Cranmer* managed the Debate, but the Iſſue of it was this, The King judged in his Favours, and ſaid, He was an old experienced Captain, and ought not to be troubled by freſh Men and Novices. The King was now reſolved to marry again, and both the Emperour and the King of *France* propoſed Matches to him, but they came to no Effect. The Emperour endeavoured by all means poſſible, to ſeparate the King from the Princes of the *Smalcaldick* League; and the Act of the Six Articles had done that already in a great meaſure; for they complained much of the King's Severity in thoſe Points, which were the principal Parts of their Doctrine; ſuch as Communion in both kinds,

kinds, Private Maſſes, and the Marriage of the Clergy. *Gardiner* ſtudied to animate the King much againſt them; he often told him, it was below his Dignity to ſuffer dull *Germans* to dictate to him: and he ſuggeſted, that they who would not acknowledge the Emperour's Supremacy in the matters of Religion, could not be hearty Friends to the Authority which the King had aſſumed in them. But the *Germans* did not look on the Emperour as their Sovereign, but only as the *Head* of the Empire; and they did believe, that every Prince in his Dominions, and the Diet for the whole Empire, had ſufficient Authority for making Laws in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; but what other Conſiderations could not induce the King to, was like to be more powerfully carried on by the Match with *Anne* of *Cleve*, which was now ſet on foot. Book I. 1539.

A Treaty for a Match with *Ann* of Cleve

There had been a Treaty between her Father and the Duke of *Lorrain*, for the Prince of *Lorrain* and her; but it had gone no farther then a Contract between the Fathers. *Hans Holbin*, the Famous Painter of that Age took her Picture very much to her Advantage; for the King never liked the Original ſo well as he had done the Picture. The Duke of *Saxe* diſſuaded the Match, becauſe the King was going backward in the matter of the Reformation: but *Cromwell* ſet it on vigorouſly. It was ſaid, the Lady had great Charms in her Perſon; but ſhe could ſpeak no Language but *Dutch*, which the King underſtood not; nor was ſhe bred to Muſick: And ſhe had a ſtifneſs in her Breeding, which was not at all accommodated to the King's Inclinations. The Match was at laſt agreed on; and in the end of *December* ſhe was brought over. The King was impatient, and ſo went *incognito* to *Rocheſter*,

Book I. but was ſtruck when he ſaw her. There was a Rudeneſs in her, which did not at all pleaſe him:
1540. He ſwore they had brought over a *Flanders Mare* to him; and took up an incurable Averſion to her. He reſolved to break the Match if it were poſſible; but his Affairs made the Friendſhip of the *German* Princes, to be then very neceſſary to him; ſo that he did not think it adviſable to put any affront on the Duke of *Saxe* and *Cleve*, her Brother, and her Brother-in-Law. The Emperour had at this time made a haſty Journey through *France*; and *Francis* and he had an Interview, where, as the King was informed, a Project was laid down againſt him, which was chiefly ſet on by the Pope. *Francis* was thinking how to take *Calais*, and the other places the King had in *France*, from him; it had been alſo eaſie for him to have engaged the King of *Scotland* againſt him: And the People in the North were thought to retain their former Diſpoſition to riſe ſtill; ſo that a War made on the King in ſuch Circumſtances, was like to find him at a great Diſadvantage. This made the King more tender of offending the *Germans*. But he tried if that Precontract with the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, could furniſh him with a fair Excuſe to break the Match. The King expreſſed the great Trouble he was in, both to *Cromwell*, and many of his other Servants; and one of them pleaſantly told him, that Subjects had this Advantage over Princes, that they choſe Wives for themſelves, whereas Princes were obliged to take ſuch as were brought them. But nothing could be built on that Precontract, which was only an Agreement between the Fathers, their Children being under Age; and that was afterwards annulled and broken by the Parents. So *Cranmer*

and

and *Tonſtall* being required to give their Opinions as Divines, ſaid, there was nothing in it to hinder the King's Marrying the Lady. Book I. 1540.

On the *6th* of *January* the King Married her; but expreſſed his diſlike of her ſo viſibly, that all about him took notice of it: And the day after that, he told *Cromwell* that he had not conſummated his Marriage, and he believed he ſhould never do it: He ſuſpected ſhe was not a Virgin; and ſhe had ill Smells about her; ſo that his Averſion to her was encreaſed to ſuch a Degree, that he believed he ſhould never be able to change it. *Cromwell* did what he could to overcome theſe Inclinations; but that was not to be done: And tho the King lived five Months with her, and lay often in the Bed with her, yet his Averſion to her rather increaſed then abated. She ſeemed little concerned at it, and expreſſed a great readineſs to concur in any thing, that might diſengage him from a Marriage that was ſo unacceptable to him. Inſtruments were brought over, to ſhew that the Contract between her and the Prince of *Lorrain*, was void: But they took ſome Advantage, becauſe it was not declare whether the Contract was in the Words of the Preſent, or of the Future Tenſe. The King marries her, but never liked her.

In *April* there was a Seſſion of Parliament, and at the opening of it, as the Lord Chancellour declared the matters relating to the State, for which the King had called them; ſo the Vicegerent ſpake to them concerning the matters of Religion: He told them there was nothing which the King deſired ſo much as an entire Union among all his Subjects; but ſome Incendiaries oppoſed it as much as he promoted it; and between the raſhneſs on the one hand, and Inveterate Superſtition on the other, great Diſſentions had A new Parliament.

Book I. 1540. arisen. These were inflamed by the reproachful Names of *Papist* and *Heretick*: And though they had now the Word of God in all their hands, yet they studied rather to justify their passions out of it, than to govern their Lives by it. In order to the removing this, the King resolved to set forth an Exposition of the Doctrine of Christ, without any corrupt Mixtures; and to retain such Ceremonies as might be of good use; and that being done, he was resolved to punish all Transgressors, of what side soever they might be: For that end, he had appointed the two Arch-bishops and the Bishops of *London*, *Duresme*, *Winchester*, *Rochester*, *Hereford*, and St. *Davids*; and 11 Divines, *Thirleby*, *Robertson*, *Cox*, *Day*, *Ogletborp*, *Redmayn*, *Edgeworth*, *Crayford*, *Symons*, *Robins*, and *Tresham*, for settling the Doctrine. And the Bishops of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Sarum*, *Chichester*, *Worcester*, and *Landaff*, for the Ceremonies. These Committees for Religion, sate as often as the Affairs of the Parliament could allow of. Two days after the Parliament met, *Cromwell* was made Earl of *Essex*, which shews it was not the Kings Dislike of the Queen that wrought his Ruin, otherwise he had not now raised his Title.

The Knights of St. *John* suppress.

A Bill was brought into the Parliament for suppressing the Knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*. These were at first only an Hospital, for entertaining the Pilgrims that went to visit the Holy Grave: And after that, they became an Order of Knights; and they and the Knights Templars conducted and guarded the Pilgrims. It was thought for some Ages one of the highest Expressions of Devotion to Christ, to go and visit the places where he was Crucified, Buried and Ascended to Heaven: And it was look'd on as highly Meritorious, to go and fight for

for recovering the Holy-Land out of the hands of Infidels; ſo that almoſt every one that died, either vowed to go to the Holy War, or left ſomewhat to ſuch as ſhould go. If they recovered, they bought off their Vow, by giving ſome Lands for the Entertainment of thoſe Knights. There were great Complaints made of the Templars; but whether it was their Wealth that made them a deſirable Prey, or their Guilt that drew Ruin on them, is not certain. They were condemned in a Council, and all of them that could be found, were cruelly put to Death. But the other Order was ſtill continued; and being beaten out of *Judea*, they ſettled at *Rhodes*, out of which they were lately driven; and were now ſetled in *Malta*. They were under a Great Maſter, who depended on the Pope and the Emperour. But ſince they could not be brought to ſurrender of their own accord, as others had done; it was neceſſary to ſuppreſs them by Act of Parliament. Another Houſe which they had in *Ireland* was alſo ſuppreſſed, and Penſions were reſerved for the Priors and Knights. On the 14*th* of *May*, the Parliament was prorogued to the 25*th*; a Vote having paſt, that the Bills ſhould continue in the State they were in. Book I. 1540.

On the 12*th* of *June*, there was a ſudden turn at Court, for the Duke of *Norfolk* arreſted *Cromwell* of High Treaſon, and ſent him Priſoner to the Tower. He had many Enemies: The meanneſs of his Birth made the Nobility take it ill, to ſee the Son of a Black-Smith made an Earl, and have the Garter given him; beſides his being Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain of *England*, Lord Vicegerent, and a little while before, he had alſo the Maſterſhip of the Rolls. All the Popiſh Clergy hated him violently: They imputed *Cromwell's Fall.*

Book I. 1540. imputed the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, and the Injunctions that were laid on them, chiefly to his Counſels: And it was thought that it was mainly by his means that the King and the Emrour continued to be in ſuch ill Terms. The King did now underſtand, that there was no agreement like to be made between the Emperour and *Francis*, for it ſtuck at the matter of the Dutchy of *Milan*; in which neither of them would yield to the other; and the King was ſure, they would both court his Friendſhip in caſe of a War; and this made him leſs concerned for the favour of the *German* Princes. So, now *Cromwell*'s Counſels became unacceptable: With this a ſecret Reaſon concurred. The King did not only hate the Queen, but was now come to be in love with *Katherine Howard*, Neece to the Duke of *Norfolk*; which both raiſed his Intereſt, and depreſt *Cromwell*, who had made the former Match. The King was alſo willing to caſt upon him all the Errours that had been committed of late, and by making him a Sacrifice, he hoped he ſhould regain the Affections of his People. The King had alſo Informations brought him, that he ſecretly incouraged thoſe that oppoſed the Six Articles, and diſcouraged thoſe who went about the Execution of it. His fall came ſo ſuddenly, that he had not the leaſt Apprehenſion of it before the Storm brake on him. He had the common Fate of all diſgraced Miniſters; his Friends forſook him, and his Enemies inſulted over him; only *Cranmer* ſtuck to him, and wrote earneſtly to the King in his Favours. "He ſaid, he found "that he had always loved the King above all "things; and had ſerved him with ſuch Fideli-"ty and Succeſs, that he believed no King of

"*England*

" *England* had ever a faithfuller Servant: And Book I.
" he wiſhed the King might find ſuch a Counſel-
" lour, who both could, and would, ſerve him 1540.
" as he had done. So great and generous a Soul had *Cranmer*, that was not turned by changes in his Friends Fortunes; and would venture on the diſpleaſure of ſo Imperious a Prince, rather than fail in the Duties of Friendſhip. But the King was now reſolved to ruin *Cromwell*, and that unjuſt Practice of Attainting, without hearing the Parties Anſwer for themſelves, which he had promoted too much before, was now turned upon himſelf. He had ſuch Enemies in the Houſe of Lords, that the Bill of Attainder was diſpatched in two Days, being read twice in one Day. *Cranmer* was abſent, and no other would venture to ſpeak for him. But he met with more Juſtice in the Houſe of Commons; for it ſtuck ten Days there. And in Concluſion, a new Bill was drawn againſt him, and ſent up to the Lords, to which they conſented; and it had the Royal Aſſent.

" In it they ſet forth, That tho' the King had His Attain-
" raiſed him from a baſe State, to great Digni- der.
" ties; yet it appeared by many Witneſſes, that
" were Perſons of Honour, that he had been the
" moſt Corrupt Traitor that ever was known:
" That he had ſet many at Liberty that were
" Condemned, or ſuſpected of Miſpriſion of
" Treaſon: That he had given Licences for
" tranſporting out of the Kingdom things pro-
" hibited by Proclamation: And had granted
" many Paſſports without ſearch made: That
" he had ſaid, *He was ſure of the King*; That
" he had diſperſt many Erroneous Books, con-
" trary to the Belief of the Sacrament: And
" had ſaid, That every Man might Adminiſter

" it

Book I. 1540. "it as well as a Prieſt: That he had Licenſed "many Preachers ſuſpected of *Hereſy*: And "had ordered many to be diſcharged that were "committed on that account; and had diſ-"charged all Informers: That he had many "Hereticks about him. That above a Year be-"fore, he had ſaid, The preaching of *Barnes* "and others, was good: And that he would "not turn, tho' the King did turn; but if the "King turned, he would fight in Perſon againſt "him, and all that turned: And drawing out "his Dagger, he wiſhed that might pierce him to "the Heart, if he ſhould not do it; he had al-"ſo ſaid, if he lived a Year or two longer, it "ſhould not be in the King's Power to hinder "it. He had likewiſe been found guilty of "great Oppreſſion and Bribery: And when he "heard that ſome Lords were taking Counſel "againſt him, he had threatned, that he would "raiſe great Stirs in *England*: For theſe things "he was attainted both of High Treaſon and "Hereſy. A *Proviſo* was added, for ſecuring the Church of *Wells*, of which he had been Dean.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

This was lookt on as very hard Meaſure. It was believed, That he had at leaſt Verbal Orders from the King, for the Licences and Orders that were complained of; and perhaps he could have ſhewed ſome in Writing, if he had been heard to make his Anſwers. Bribery ſeemed to be caſt on him, only to render him odious; but no Particulars were mentioned. Nor was it credible, that he could have ſpoken ſuch Words of the King, as were alledged, eſpecially when he was in the heighth of his Favour; and if he had ſpoken them above a Year before, it is not to be imagined that they could have been ſo long kept ſecret; and what was ſaid of his drawing

out

out a Dagger, look'd like a Design to affix an overt Act to them. Book I.

This being done, the King went on to move for a Divorce. An Address was moved to be made to him by the Lords, that he would suffer his Marriage to be examined. *Cranmer* and others were sent down to desire the Concurrence of the Commons; and they ordered 20 of their number to go along with the Lords, who went all in a Body to the King. He granted their desire, the Matter being concerted before. So a Commission was sent to the Convocation, to discuss it: *Gardiner* opened it to them; and they appointed a Committee for the Examination of Witnesses. The Substance of the whole Evidence amounted to these Particulars; That the Matter of the Precontract with the Prince of *Lorrain*, was not fully cleared; and it did not appear, that it was made by the Queen; or whether it was in the Words of the present time, or not. That the King had married her against his Will; and had not given an inward and compleat Consent; and that he had never consummated the Marriage; so that they saw he could have no Issue by the Queen. Upon these grounds the whole Convocation with one consent annulled the Marriage, and declared both Parties free. This was the grossest piece of Compliance that the King had from his Clergy in his whole Reign: For as they knew that there was nothing in the pretended Precontract; so by voiding the Marriage, because the Consent was not internal and free, they made a most pernicious Precedent for breaking all publick Treaties: for since none can know Mens Hearts; it would be easie for every one to pretend that he had not given a perfect Consent; and that being allowed, there

1540.

The King's Marriage annulled.

Book I. 1540. there could be no Confidence nor Safety among Men any more. And in the Proceſs for the King's firſt Divorce, they had laid it down as a Principle, that a Marriage was compleat, tho' it were never conſummated. But in a Word, the King was reſolved to be rid of the Queen; and the Clergy were reſolved not to offend him: And they rather ſought out reaſons to give a colour to their Sentence, then paſt it on the force of thoſe Reaſons. *Cromwell* was required to ſend a Declaration of all he knew concerning the Marriage, which he did; but ended in theſe moſt abject Words, "Written with the heavy "Heart, and trembling Hand of your Highneſs's "moſt heavy, and moſt miſerable Priſoner, and "poor Slave, *Tho. Cromwell:* and under his Sub-"ſcription he wrote, Moſt Sacred Prince, I cry "for *Mercy*, *Mercy*, *Mercy*. The Judgment of the Convocation was reported to the Houſe of Lord's by *Cranmer*, and the Reaſons were opened by *Gardiner*. They were ſent down to the Commons to give them the ſame account; and both Houſes were ſatisfied with it. Next day, ſome Lords were ſent to the Queen, who had retired to *Richmond:* They told her, the King was reſolved to declare her his adopted Siſter, and to ſettle *Four thouſand Pounds* a Year on her, if ſhe would conſent to it; which ſhe cheerfully embraced; and it being left to her choice, either to live in *England*, or to return to her Brother; She preferred the former. They preſt her to write to her Brother, that all this matter was done with her good Will; that the King uſed her as a Father; and that therefore he, and the other Allies, ſhould not take this ill at his hands. She was a little averſe to this, but was prevailed on to do it. When things were thus prepared,

ed, the Act confirming the Judgment of the Convocation, paſt without any Oppoſition. An Act paſt, mitigating one Clauſe in the Act of the ſix Articles; by which the pains of Death for the Marriage or Incontinence of the Clergy, were changed into a Forfeiture of their Goods and Benefices. Another Act paſt, Authorizing thoſe Committees of Biſhops and Divines that had been named by the King, both for the Doctrine and Ceremonies, to go on in it; and appointing, that what ſhould be agreed on by them, and Publiſhed with the King's Approbation, ſhould bind the Subjects as much as if every Particular in it had been enumerated in that Act, any Law or Cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding: But a *Proviſo* was added, That nothing might be done by them contrary to the Laws then in force: Which Contradiction in the *Proviſo*'s, ſeem to have been put in on deſign to keep all Eccleſiaſtical Proceedings under the Inſpection of the Secular Courts, ſince they are the only Expounders of Acts of Parliament. Another Act paſt, That no Pretence of a Precontract ſhould be made uſe of to annul a Marriage duly ſolemnized and conſummated: And that no Degrees of Kindred, but thoſe enumerated in the Law of *Moſes*, might hinder a Marriage. This laſt was added, to enable the King to marry *Katherine Howard*, that was Couſin German to *Anne Boleyn*, which was one of the Degrees prohibited by the Canon Law; but the reaſon of the former part is not known. It directly condemns the King's Divorce of *Anne Boleyn*, grounded on a pretended Precontract. Book I. 1540.

The Province of *Canterbury* gave the King a Subſidy of 4 *s.* in the Pound, to be payed in two Years, with a Preamble of high Acknowledgments

Book I. ledgments of their Happineſs under his Protecti-
on. A Subſidy was alſo asked of the Laity, but in
1540. the Houſe of Commons it was much oppoſed:
Many ſaid, they had given the King the Abbey-
Lands, in hopes that no Subſidies ſhould have
been any more demanded: and it ſhewed a ſtrange
Profuſeneſs, that now within a Year after that,
a Subſidy was demanded. But it was anſwered,
That the King had been at great charge in for-
tifying his Coaſts; and in keeping up ſuch
Leagues beyond Sea, as preſerved the Nation in
ſafety; a Tenth and four 15ths were granted.
Several Bills of Attainder were paſt. And in
Concluſion, the King ſent a General Pardon, out
of which *Cromwell* and divers others were ex-
cepted; and then the Parliament was diſſolved.
Cromwell's mean Addreſſes could not preſerve
Cromwell's Death. him: So he was executed on the 28th of *July*:
He thanked God for bringing him to die in that
manner, which was juſt, on the account of his
" Sins againſt God, and his Offences againſt his
" Prince. He declared that he doubted of no
" Article of the Catholick Faith, nor of any
" Sacrament of the Church. He ſaid, He had
" been ſeduced, but now he died in the Catho-
" lick Faith; and denied he had ſupported the
" Preachers of ill Opinions. He deſired all
their Prayers; and prayed very fervently for him-
ſelf; and thus did he end his days.

He roſe meerly by the ſtrength of his Natu-
ral Parts; for his Education was ſuitable to his
mean Extraction: Only he had all the New
Teſtament in Latin, by Heart. He carried his
Greatneſs with extraordinary Moderation; and
fell rather under the weight of popular *Odium*,
than Guilt. At his Death he mixed none of the
Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome* with his
Devotions:

Devotions: But it was ſaid, that he uſed the word, *Catholick Faith* in its true ſenſe, and in Oppoſition to the Novelties of the Church of *Rome:* Yet his ambiguous way of expreſſing himſelf, made the Papiſts ſay, that he died repenting of his Hereſy. But the Proteſtants ſaid, that he died in the ſame Perſuaſions in which he lived. With him fell the Office of the King's *Vicegerent*, and none after him have aſpired to that Character, *That* proved ſo fatal to him who firſt carried it. It was believed that the King lamented his Death when it was too late; and the Miſeries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Family, were looked on as Strokes from Heaven on them, for their cruel proſecuting this unfortunate Miniſter. With his Fall, the Progreſs of the Reformation ſtopt; for *Cranmer* could never gain much Ground after this, and indeed many hoped that he ſhould be quickly ſent after *Cromwell*; ſome complained of him in the Houſe of Commons, and Informations were brought the King, that the chief Encouragement that the Hereticks had, came from him. Book I. 1540.

A Book of Religion ſet out by Biſhops.

The Eccleſiaſtical Committees imployed by the King were now at work, and gave the laſt finiſhing to a Book formerly prepared, but at this time corrected and explained in many Particulars. They began with the Explanation of *Faith*, which according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, was thought an implicit believing whatever the Church propoſed: But the Reformers made it the chief Subject of their Books and Sermons, to perſuade People to believe in Chriſt, and not in the Church; and made great uſe of thoſe Places in which it was ſaid, *That Chriſtians are juſtified by Faith only*:

Book I. 1540. tho' ſome explained this in ſuch a manner, that it gave their Adverſaries Advantages to charge them that they denied the neceſſity of Good-Works; but they all taught that tho' they were not neceſſary to Juſtification, yet they were neceſſary to Salvation. They differed alſo in their Notion of Good-works: The Church of *Rome* taught, that the Honour done to God in his Images, or to the Saints in their Shrines and Relicks, or to the Prieſts, were the beſt ſort of Good-works: Whereas the Reformers preſt Juſtice and Mercy moſt, and diſcovered the Superſtition of the other. The Opinion of the Merit of Good-works, was alſo ſo highly raiſed, that many thought they purchaſed Heaven by them. This the Reformers did alſo correct, and taught the People to depend meerly upon the Death and Interceſſion of Chriſt. Others moved ſubtiler Queſtions, As whether Obedience was an Eſſential part of Faith, or only a Conſequent of it: This was a Nicety ſcarce becoming Divines, that built only on the Simplicity of the Scriptures, and condemned the Subtilties of the Schools; and it was ſaid, that Men of ill Lives abuſed this Doctrine, and thought that if they could but aſſure themſelves that Chriſt died for them, they were ſafe enough.

The Explanation of Faith.

So now when they ſettled the Notion of *Faith*, they divided it into two ſorts: The one was a Perſuaſion of the Truth of the Goſpel; but the other carried with it a Submiſſion to the Will of God; and both Hope, Love, and Obedience belonged to it; which was the Faith profeſſed in Baptiſm, and ſo much extolled by St. *Paul*. It was not to be ſo underſtood as if it were a Certainty of our being Predeſtinated, which may be only a Preſumption; ſince all God's

God's Promiſes are made to us on Conditions; but it was an entire receiving the whole Goſpel according to our Baptiſmal Vows. *Cranmer* took great Pains to ſtate this Matter right; and made a large Collection of many places, all written with his own Hand, both out of Ancient and Modern Authors, concerning Faith, Juſtification, and the Merit of Good-works; and concluded with this, That our Juſtification was to be aſcribed only to the Merits of Chriſt; and that thoſe who are Juſtified muſt have Charity as well as Faith, but that neither of theſe was the meritorious Cauſe of Juſtification. After this was ſtated, they made next a large and full Explanation of the Apoſtles Creed with great Judgment, and many excellent practical Inferences; the Definition they gave of the Catholick Church runs thus: "It comprehended all Aſſemblies of "Men in the whole World that received the "Faith of Chriſt, who ought to hold an Unity of "Love and Brotherly Agreement together, by "which they became Members of the Catho-"lick Church: After this they explained the Seven Sacraments. Book I. 1549.

In opening theſe there were great Debates; for, as was formerly mentioned, the Method uſed, was to open the Point inquired into by propoſing many *Queries*, and every one was to give in his Anſwer to theſe, with the Reaſons of it; and then others were appointed to make an *Abſtract* of thoſe things, in which they all either agreed or differed. The Original Papers relating to theſe Points are yet preſerved, which ſhew with how great Conſideration they proceeded in the Changes that were then made. *Cranmer* had at this time ſome particular Opinions concerning Eccleſiaſtical Offices; that they were And of the Sacraments.

Book I. 1540. delivered from the King, as other Civil Offices were, and that Ordination was not indiſpenſably neceſſary, and was only a Ceremony that might be uſed or laid aſide; but that the Authority was conveyed to Church-men only by the King's Commiſſion; yet he delivered his Opinion in this matter with great Modeſty, and he not only ſubſcribed the Book in which the contrary Doctrine was eſtabliſhed, but afterwards publiſhed it in a Book which he writ in King *Edward*'s Days, from whence it appears that he changed his Mind in this particular. Baptiſm was explained as had been done formerly: Penance was made to conſiſt in the Abſolution of the Prieſts, which had been formerly declared only to be deſirable where it could be had. In the *Communion*, both *Tranſubſtantiation*, private *Maſſes*, and *Communion* in one Kind, were aſſerted: They aſſerted the Obligation of the Levitical Law about the Degrees of Marriage, and the Indiſſolubleneſs of that Bond. They ſet out the Divine Inſtitution of Prieſts and Deacons; and that no Biſhop had Authority over another: They made a long Excurſion againſt the Pope's Pretenſions, and for juſtifying the King's Supremacy. They ſaid, Confirmation was Inſtituted by the Apoſtles, and was profitable, but not neceſſary to Salvation: And they aſſerted extream Unction to have been commanded by the Apoſtles, for the Health both of Soul and Body. Then were the Ten Commandments explained, the ſecond was added to the firſt, but the Words, *For I am the Lord thy God*, &c. were left out. It was declared, that no godly Honour was to be done unto Images, and that they ought only to be reverenced for their ſakes whom they repreſented: Therefore the pre-

fer-

ferring of one Image to another, and the making Pilgrimages and Offerings to them, was condemned; but the cenſing them or kneeling before them, was permitted; yet the People were to be taught that theſe things were done only to the Honour of God. Invocation of Saints, as Interceſſors, was allowed; but immediate Addreſſes to them for the Bleſſings that were prayed for, was condemned. The ſtrict reſt from Labour on the Seventh Day, was declared to be Ceremonial; but it was neceſſary to reſt from Sin and carnal Pleaſure, and to follow holy Duties. The other Commandments were explained in a very plain and practical way. Then was the Lord's Prayer explained, and it was aſſerted that the People ought only to pray in their Vulgar Tongues for exciting their Devotion the more: The Angel's Salutation to the Virgin was alſo Paraphraſed. They handled Free-will, and defined it to be a Power, by which the Will, guided by Reaſon, did without conſtraint diſcern and chooſe Good and Evil; the former by the help of God's Spirit, and the latter of it ſelf. Grace was ſaid to be offered to all Men, but was made effectual by the application of the Free-will to it: And Grace and Free-will did conſiſt well together, the one being added for the help of the other; and therefore Preachers were warned not to depreſs either of them too much, in order to the exaltation of the other. Men were juſtified freely by the Grace of God, but that was applied by Faith, in which both the Fear of God, Repentance, and Amendment of Life were included. All curious Reaſonings about Predeſtination were condemned; for Men could not be aſſured of their Election, but by feeling the Motions of God's Holy Spirit appear-

Book I. 1540.

Book I. 1540.

ing in a good and vertuous Life, and perſevering in that to the end. Good-works were neceſſary, which were not the Superſtitious Inventions of Monks and Friers; nor only Moral Good-works done by the Power of Nature, but were the Works of Charity flowing from a pure Heart, and Faith unfeigned: Faſting, and the other Fruits of Penance, were alſo Good-works; but of an inferiour Nature to Juſtice and the other Virtues: Good-works were meritorious, yet ſince they were wrought in Men by God's Spirit, all boaſting was excluded. They ended with an account of Prayer for Souls departed, almoſt the ſame that was in the Articles publiſhed before.

The Book is publiſhed.

The Book was writ in a Plain and Maſculine Stile, fit for weak Capacities, and yet ſtrong and weighty: And the parts of it that related to Practice were admirable. To this they added a Preface, declaring the Care they had uſed in examining the Scriptures and Antient Doctors, out of whom they compiled this Book. The King added another Preface, in which he condemned the Hypocriſy and Superſtition of one ſort, and the Preſumption of another ſort; to correct both, he had ordered this Book to be made and publiſhed: And he required his People to read and print it in their Hearts, and to pray to God to grant them the Spirit of Humility for receiving it aright: And he charged the Inferiour People to remember that their Office was not to teach, but to be taught; and to practice what they heard, rather than Diſpute about it. But this Preface was not added till two Years after the Book was put out; for it mentions the Approbation that was given to it in Parliament, and the Reſtraint that was put on reading the Scriptures, of which an account ſhall be given afterwards.

The

The Reformers were diſſatisfied with many things in the Book, yet were glad to find the Morals of Religion ſo well opened; for the Purity of Soul, which that might effect, would diſpoſe People to ſound Opinions; many Superſtitious Practices were alſo condemned, and the Goſpel-Covenant was rightly ſtated. One Article was alſo aſſerted in it, which opened the way to a further Reformation; for every National Church was declared to be a compleat Body, with Power to reform Hereſies, and do every thing that was neceſſary for preſerving its own Purity, or governing its Members. The Popiſh Party thought they had recovered much Ground, that ſeemed loſt formerly: They knew the Reformers would never ſubmit to all things in this Book, which would alienate the King from them; but they were ſafe, being reſolved to comply with him in every thing, and without doing that, it was like to be ſomewhat uneaſy to live in *England*; for the King's Peeviſhneſs grew upon him with his Age. Now the Correſpondence between the King and the *German* Princes fell upon the Change that was made in the Miniſtry, and a ſecret Treaty was ſet on foot between the King and the Emperour. All the Changes that the Committee appointed for the Ceremonies made, was only the Raſure of ſome Offices and Collects, and the ſetting out of a new Primer, with the Vulgar Devotions for the Common People: But the Changes were not ſo great, as that it was neceſſary to reprint the Miſſals or Breviaries; for the old Books were ſtill made uſe of. Yet theſe Raſures were ſuch, that in Queen *Mary*'s time the old Books were all called in, and the Nation was put to the Charge of buying new ones, which was conſide-

Book I. 1540.

Book I. rable, ſo great was the number of the Books of Offices.

1540. The Popiſh Party ſtudied now to engage the King into new Severities againſt the Reformers; the firſt Inſtances of theſe fell on three Preachers, *Barnes*, *Gerard*, and *Jerome*, who had been early wrought on by *Luther*'s Books. *Barnes* had, during *Wolſey*'s Greatneſs, reflected much on him in a Sermon which he Preached at *Cambridge*; but *Gardiner* was then his Friend, and brought him off; he having abjured ſome Articles that were objected to him: yet upon new Complaints he was again put in Priſon, but he made his Eſcape and fled to *Germany*; and became ſo conſiderable, that he was ſent over to *England* by the King of *Denmark*, as Chaplain to his Ambaſſadours; but he went back again. The Biſhop of *Hereford* meeting him at *Smalcald*, ſent him over to *England*, with a ſpecial Recommendation to *Cromwell*: He was after that much imployed in the Negotiations which the King had with the *Germans*; and had the misfortune to be the firſt that was ſent with the Propoſition for *Anne* of *Cleve*. In Lent this Year, *Bonner* appointed thoſe three to have their turns at St. *Pauls* Croſs; *Gardiner* preached alſo there, and fell on Juſtification, which he handled according to the Notions of the Schools: But *Barnes* and the other two did directly refute his Sermon, when it came to their turns to preach, not without indecent Reflections on his Perſon. This was repreſented to the King as a great Inſolence, he being both a Biſhop and Privy-Councellour; ſo the King commanded them to go and give him Satisfaction: he ſeemed to carry the Matter with much Moderation, and readily forgave all that was Perſonal, tho it was believ'd that it ſtuck deep in him. In Concluſion,

Barnes and others fall into Trouble.

they

they confeſſed their Indiſcretion, and promiſed for the future to be more cautious, and renounced ſome Articles of which it was thought their Sermons favoured; as that God was the Author of Sin, that Good Works were not neceſſary to Salvation, and that Princes ought not to be obeyed in all their juſt Laws. Some other Niceties were in diſpute concerning Juſtification; but the King thought theſe were not of ſuch Conſequence, that it was neceſſary to make them abjure them. *Barnes* and his Friends were required to preach a Recantation Sermon at the Spittle, and to ask *Gardiner*'s Pardon; but tho they obeyed this, yet it was ſaid that in one place they juſtified what they recanted in another; at which the King was ſo much provoked, that without hearing them, he ſent them to the Tower. At that time *Cromwell* either could not protect them, or would not interpoſe in a matter which gave the King ſo great offence. When the Parliament came they were attainted of Hereſy, without being brought to make their Anſwers: no particular Errors were objected to them, only they were condemned to be burnt as deteſtable Hereticks in general Words. In the ſame Act by which they were condemned, four other were attainted of Treaſon, for being confederated with *Reginald Pool*, and for intending to ſurprize *Calais*; and as there was a ſtrange mixture in their Condemnation, ſo the like was in their Execution: for *Abel*, *Featherſton*, and *Powell*, that were attainted in the ſame Parliament for owning the Pope's Supremacy, were executed with them, and were coupled together in the Hurdles in which they were carried to *Smithfield*; the King in this affecting an extravagant Appearance of Impartiality in his Juſtice.

Book I. 1540.

Barnes

Book I. 1540. And burnt.

Barnes being tied to the Stake, went over the Articles of the Creed, and declared his Belief of them all, and that he abhorred the impious Opinions of ſome *German* Anabaptiſts. He aſſerted the neceſſity of Good Works, but aſcribed Juſtification wholly to the Merits of Chriſt; he profeſſed all due Reverence to the Saints, but ſaid he ſaw no warrant to pray to them; he asked the Sheriff and the People, if they knew for what they were condemned, and what Hereſies they were accuſed of: but none made Anſwer; he prayed God to forgive all that ſought their Death, and in particular, *Gardiner*, if he had done it: then prayed for the King and the Prince, and expreſſed his Loyalty to the King; that he believed all his juſt Laws were to be obeyed for Conſcience ſake, and that in no Caſe it was lawful to reſiſt him: he ſent ſome Deſires to the King, as that he would apply the Abby-Lands to good Uſes, and the Relief of his poor Subjects; that he would puniſh the Contempt of Marriage that was ſo common, and would put a ſtop to the Liberty many took of caſting off their Wives, and living in Whoredom; that Swearers might be puniſhed, and that ſince the King had begun to ſet forth the Chriſtian Religion, that he would go on with it; for a great deal remained yet to be done: he asked the Forgiveneſs of all People whom he might have at any time offended, and ſo turned and prepared himſelf for Death: then the other two ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe; they declared their Faith, and exhorted the People to a good Life, and mutual Love; and they all prayed and embraced one another; after that, the Fire was ſet to. The conſtancy they expreſſed, together with the Gentleneſs of their Deportment towards their Enemies,

Enemies, made great Impreſſions on the Spectators, and caſt a heavy Imputation on *Gardiner*, as the Procurer of their Deaths, tho he juſtified himſelf in an Apology which he printed; in which he denied any other Acceſſion to it, but giving his Vote to the Bill of Attainder. *Bonner* began now to ſhew himſelf in his own Colours: He had courted *Cromwell* more than any Perſon whatſoever; yet the very day after his Diſgrace, he ſhewed his Ingratitude; for *Grafton* that had printed the Bible, and was much in *Cromwell*'s Favour upon that account, meeting *Bonner*, expreſſed his Sorrow for *Cromwell*'s being ſent to the *Tower*; but the other anſwered, that it had been good he had been there much ſooner: *Grafton* ſaw his Errour in ſpeaking ſo freely, and went from him: But ſome Verſes being Printed in *Cromwell*'s Praiſe, *Bonner* informed the Council what *Grafton* had ſaid to him, and ſo thought it was probable he had Printed them, yet he had ſo many Friends that he was let go. He procured many to be indicted upon the Act of the ſix Articles: but an Order came from the King to ſtop further Proceedings; yet he pick'd out one Inſtance which did equally diſcover his Brutal Cruelty, and his want of Judgment. One *Mekins*, not above fifteen Years old, had ſaid ſomewhat againſt the Corporal Preſence, and in Commendation of Dr. *Barnes*: The Witneſſes differed in their Evidence; one ſwore he had ſaid the Sacrament was only a *Ceremony*; the other ſwore he had ſaid it was only a *Signification*: So two Grand Juries returned an *Ignoramus* on the Bill; upon which he fell into a fit of Curſing and violent Rage, and he made the ſecond Grand Jury go aſide and conſider better of it, they being terrified, found the Bill, and

Book I. 1540.

Book I. 1540. and he was condemned to be burnt; but hoping to be preſerved by what he ſhould ſay at the Stake; he railed at *Barnes*, and praiſed *Bonner* much: yet that did not ſave him. Two were burnt at *Salisbury*, and two at *Lincoln*, upon the ſame Statute; beſides great numbers that were put in Priſon.

New Sees founded. In the end of this Year the King began to endow the new Biſhopricks: *Weſtminſter* was the firſt, in which he endow'd a Biſhoprick, a Deanry, 12 Prebendaries, a Quire, and other Officers. The Year after this, he endowed *Cheſter*, *Gloceſter*, and *Peterborough*; but in theſe Cathedrals he only endowed ſix Prebendaries; two years after he likewiſe endowed *Oxford* and *Briſtol*. The Foundations had Preambles almoſt the ſame with that of the Act of Parliament that empowered him to erect them; he promoted the Biſhops to thoſe Sees by a ſpecial Writ, tho' that was to go thereafter in the way of Election, as it was in the other Sees: he alſo converted the Priories of *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Dureſme*, *Worceſter*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter*, and *Carliſle*, into Collegiate Churches, conſiſting of Deans and Prebendaries. But as all this came far ſhort of what the King had firſt intended; ſo the Channel in which thoſe Foundations run, differed much from what *Cranmer* had projected, whoſe Intereſt was ſo low at Court, that his Opinion was not now regarded as it had been formerly. He intended to have reſtored the Cathedrals to what they had been at firſt, to be Colleges and Nurſeries for the Dioceſs, and to have ſet up Readers of the Learned Tongues, and of Divinity in them, that ſo a conſiderable number of Young Clerks might have been trained up under the Biſhop's Eye, both in their Studies, and in

a Course of Devotion; to be by him put afterwards in Livings, according to their Merit and Improvements. The want of such Houses for the strict Education of those who are to serve in the Church, has been the occasion of many fatal Consequencies since that time, by the Scandals which Men initiated to the Sacred Functions, before they were well prepared for them, have given the World. The Popish Party beyond Sea censured these Endowments, both as being a very defective Restitution of the Lands that had been invaded, and as an Invasion on the Spiritual Authority, when the King divided Dioceses, and removed Churches from one Jurisdiction and put them under another. To which it was answered, That as their Practices against the King had put him to such a charge, that he could not execute what he at first intended; so both the *Roman* Emperors, and other Christian Kings, had regulated and divided the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and made Primates and Patriarchs as they pleased. *Ely* in *England* was taken out of *Lincoln*, only by the King and his Parliament, tho' P. *Nicolaus* did officiously send a Confirmation of it, that being an Art of the Papacy to offer *Confirmations* unsought, and afterwards to found a *Right* on such a *Precedent*: so that the receiving a Confirmation, was made to pass for an acknowledgment of an Authority in that See to grant it; upon which the Popes afterwards pretended, that such things could not be done without their consent. Here the Series of the Kings Advances towards a Reformation, ends; what he did after this, was by Starts, backwards or forwards, as the Humour took him: Nor was he steady in his Councils in State-Affairs: He had no Minister about him, that had an Ascendent o-

Book I. 1540.

ver

Book I. ver him. Sickneſs and Years increaſed his Imperious Temper, ſo that his Councellours had a hard task to pleaſe him, and many Errours were committed by him.

1541. The Bible ſet up in Churches. A new Impreſſion of the Bible was at this time finiſhed: And the King required all Pariſhes to provide one of them by the next *All-halloweride*, under the pain of 40 *s.* a Month after that, till they had got one. The People were alſo charged not to diſpute about it, nor to diſturb Divine Service by reading it during the Maſs; but to read it humbly and reverently for their Inſtruction and Edification. Six of theſe were ſet up in divers places of St. *Pauls*: But *Bonner* being afraid of the Miſchief they might do, poſted up near them, as Admonition to the People, That none ſhould read them with vain Glory and corrupt Affections, or draw multitudes about them when they read them. But great numbers gathered about thoſe that read, and ſuch as had good Voices, uſed to be reading them aloud a great part of the day. Many ſet their Children to School, and when they had learn'd to read, they carried them to Church to read the Bibles; ſome began likewiſe to argue from them, particularly againſt taking away the Chalice in the Communion, and the Worſhip in an unknown Tongue; upon which *Bonner* ſet up a new Advertiſement, and threatned to remove them, if theſe Abuſes were not corrected: And upon the Complaints made of thoſe things, the free uſe of the Scriptures was afterwards much reſtrain'd. This year the King added to his former Foundations, two Collegiat Churches at *Burton* upon *Trent*, and *Thornton*, conſiſting of a Dean and four Prebendaries a-piece. *Cranmer* obſerving the Exceſſes in Biſhops Tables, by which, under the name of Hoſpitality, ſo much

was

was consumed in great Entertainments, that they were disabled from more necessary and profitable Acts of Charity, made a Regulation, that an *Archbishop* should not have above six Dishes of Meat, and four of Banquet; a *Bishop* not above five of Meat, and four of Banquet; a Dean or Archdeacon not above four, and two of the one and the other; and inferiour Churchmen might not have above two Dishes. But this did not take effect; and sumptuous Tables still continued, tho' the Revenues were much impared; and thus besides the other ill effects of these, a great part of the Church-Rents goes for Entertaining the Rich, which should be applied to the Poor. Book I. 1541.

This Summer the King went to *York*, to meet his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, who promised him an Enterview there. He was an extraordinary Prince, a great Patron both of Learning and Justice; but out of measure addicted to his Pleasures. The Clergy of *Scotland* were very apprehensive of his seeing his Uncle, lest King *Henry* might have persuaded him to follow the Copy he had set to his Neighbours: and they used such Persuasions, that these, seconded by a Message from *France*, diverted the King from his Purpose. Here I shall digress a little, to give an Account of the state of *Scotland* at this time. The long Alliance between *Scotland* and *France*, made that *Paris* was the place where the Learned of that Nation had their Education: Yet after the Year 1412, Learning came to have more footing there, and Universities were set up in several Episcopal Sees. At the same time some of *Wickliff*'s Followers began to creep into *Scotland*; and one *Resby*, an Englishman, was burnt (1407) for teaching some Opinions contrary to the Pope's Authority. Some years after that, *Paul Craw*, an The Affairs of *Scotland*.

Book I. an *Huſſite* and *Bohemian*, was burnt, for infuſing the Opinions of that Party into ſome at St. *Andrews*. About the end of that Century, *Lollardy*, as it was then called, was ſpread into many parts of the Dioceſs in *Glaſgow*; for which ſeveral Perſons of Quality were accuſed: But they anſwered the Archbiſhop of that See with ſuch Aſſurance, that he diſmiſſed them, having admoniſh'd them to content themſelves with the Faith of the Church, and to beware of new Doctrines. The ſame Spirit of Ignorance, Immorality, and Superſtition, had over-run the Clergy there, that was ſo much complained of in the other Parts of *Europe*: only it may be ſuppoſed, that in Nations leſs Polite and Learned, it was in proportion greater than it was elſewhere. The total neglect of the Paſtoral Care, and the groſs Scandals of the Clergy, poſſeſſed the People with ſuch Prejudices againſt them, that they were eaſily diſpoſed to hearken to new Preachers. *Patrick Hamilton*, nobly born, Nephew by his Father to the Earl of *Aran*, and to the Duke of *Albany* by his Mother, was bred up on deſign to be highly preferred, and had an Abby given him for proſecuting his Studies: He went to travel, and in *Germany* grew acquainted with *Luther* and *Melanchon*, and being poſſeſſed with their Opinions, he returned to *Scotland*, and laid open the Errors and Corruptions then received in the Church. He was invited to St. *Andrews*, to confer concerning theſe Points, upon which he was condemned, and put in Priſon. Articles were objected to him; and upon his refuſing to abjure them, *Beaton*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, with the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, three Biſhops, and five Abbots, condemned him as an obſtinate Heretick, and delivered him to the Secular Power, and

1541.

ordered

ordered the Execution to be that Afternoon; for the King had gone in Pilgrimage to *Ross*; and they were afraid, leſt upon his Return, *Hamilton*'s Friends might have interceded effectually for him. He was tied to the Stake, and expreſſed great Joys in his Sufferings, ſince by theſe he was to enter into Everlaſting Life. A Train of Powder being fired, it did not kindle the Fewel, but only burnt his Face: So a ſtop was made till more Powder was brought; and in that time the Friers called oft to him to recant, and pray to the Virgin, and to ſay the *Salve Regina*. One Frier *Campbel* was very officious among the reſt, who had been oft with him in Priſon. He anſwered him, That he knew he was not an Heretick, and had confeſs'd to him in private; and he charged him to anſwer for that to God. By this time the Gunpowder was brought, and the Fire was kindled, and he died, often repeating theſe Words, *Lord Jeſus receive my Soul*. *Campbel* became ſoon after Frantick, and died within a Year. Both theſe laid together, made great Impreſſions on the People: And now that theſe Points began to be inquired into, many received the new Opinions. *Seaton* a *Dominican*, the King's Confeſſor, preaching in Lent, ſet out the Nature of true Repentance, and the Method to it, without mixing the Directions which the Friers commonly gave on that Subject; and when another Frier ſhewed the defectiveneſs of what he had taught, he defended himſelf in another Sermon, and reflected on thoſe Biſhops that did not preach, and called them *dumb Dogs*. But the Clergy would not meddle with him, till they found him in ill terms with the King, and the freedom he uſed in reproving him for his Vices, quickly alienated the King from him, upon

Book I. 1541.

Book I. which they resolved to fall on him; but he withdrew into *England*, and wrote to the King,
1540. taxing the Clergy for their Cruelty, and praying him to restrain it. One *Forest*, an ignorant *Benedictine*, was accused for having spoken honourably of *Patrick Hamilton*, and was put in Prison. In Confession to a Frier, he acknowledged, he thought he was a good Man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned, might be defended. The Frier discovered this, and it was received as Evidence; and upon it he was condemned and burnt. Divers others were brought into the Bishops Courts, of whom the greatest part abjured; but two were more resolute: One *Gourley* denied Purgatory, and the Pope's Authority; another was *David Smeton*, who being a Fisher-man, had refused to pay the Tithe of his Fish; and when the Vicar came to take them, he said, the Tithe was taken where the Stock grew, and therefore he threw the tenth Fish into the Sea: For this, and other Opinions, he was condemned, and they were both burnt at one Stake. Several others were accused; of whom some fled to *England*, and others went over to *Germany*. The Changes made in *England*, raised in all the People a Curiosity of searching into matters of Religion, and that was always fatal to Superstition. Pope *Clement* the Seventh wrote earnestly to the King of *Scotland*, to continue firm to the Catholick Faith: Upon which, he called a Parliament, and made new Laws for maintaining the Pope's Authority, and proceeding against Hereticks; yet the Pope could not engage him to make War on *England*. King *Henry* sent *Barlow*, Bishop of St. *Davids*, to him, with some Books that were written in defence of his Proceedings, and desired him to ex-

examine them impartially. He alſo propoſed the Interview at *York*, and a Match between him and Lady *Mary*, the King's eldeſt Daughter; and promiſed that he ſhould be made Duke of *York*, and Lord Lieutenant of the whole Kingdom. Yet the Clergy diverted him from this, and perſuaded him to go in Perſon to *France*, and court the Daughter of that King, *Magdalene*. He married her in *January* 1537; but ſhe died in *May*. She had been bred in the Queen of *Navarre*'s Court, and ſo was well diſpoſed towards the Reformation. Upon her Death, the King married *Mary* of *Guiſe*; ſhe was a Branch of the Family, that of all *Europe* was moſt zealouſly addicted to the old Superſtition; and her Intereſt, joyned with the Clergy's, engaged the King to become a violent Perſecuter of all that were of another mind. Book I. 1541.

A Perſecution ſet on foot in *Scotland*.

The King was very expenſive, both in his Pleaſures and Buildings; and had a numerous Race of Baſtards; ſo that he came to want Money much. The Nobility propoſed to him the ſeizing on the Abbey-Lands, as his Uncle had done. The Clergy, on the other hand, adviſed him to proceed ſeverely againſt all ſuſpected of Hereſy: By which means, according to the Liſts they ſhewed him, he might raiſe *One hundred thouſand Crowns* a Year: They alſo adviſed him to provide his Children to Abbies and Priories; and repreſented to him, that if he continued ſtedfaſt in the old Religion, he would ſtill have a great Party in *England*, and might be made the Head of a League, which was then in project againſt King *Henry*. This ſo far prevailed with him, that as he made four of his Sons Abbots and Priors, ſo he gave way to the perſecuting Spirit of the Clergy: Upon which, many were

Book I. cited to answer for Heresy; of these many abjured, and some were banish'd. A Canon Regu-
1541. lar, a Secular Priest, two Friers, and a Gentleman, were burnt. *Forrest*, the Canon Regular, had been reproved by his Ordinary, the Bishop of *Dunkell*, for medling with the Scriptures too much. He told him, he had lived long, and had never known what was in the Old or New Testament; but contented himself with his Portoise and Pontifical; and that he might come to repent it, if he troubled himself with such Fancies. The Archbishop of *Glasgow* was a very moderate Man, and disliked cruel Proceedings. *Russel*, a Frier, and *Kennedy*, a young Man of 18 Years of Age, were brought before him; they expressed wonderful Joy, and a steady Resolution in their Sufferings. And after a long Dispute between *Russel* and the Bishop's Divines, *Russel* concluded, *This is your Hour, and the Power of Darkness; go on, and fill up the Measures of your Iniquities.* The Archbishop was unwilling to give Sentence; he said, he thought these Executions did the Church more hurt than good. But those about him told him, He must not take a Way different from the rest of the Bishops; and threatned him so, that he pronounced Sentence, They were burned; but they gave such Demonstrations of Patience and Joy, as made no small Impression on all that saw it, or heard of it. Among those that were in trouble, *George Buchanan* was one, who at the King's Instigations had writ a very sharp Poem against the *Franciscans*, but was now abandoned by him. He made his Escape, and lived twenty Years in Foreign Parts, and at last returned to do his Country Honour; and what by his Immortal Poems, what by his History of *Scotland*, he shewed both how great a

Master

Master he was in the *Roman* Tongue, and how true a Judge he was both in Wit, and in the Knowledge of Human Affairs, (if Passion had not corrupted him towards the end of his History) that he is justly to be reckoned one of the greatest and best of the Modern Writers. So much of the Affairs of *Scotland*, the Author's Native Country. Book I. 1541.

King *Henry* staid not long at *York*, since his Nephew came not to him. He set out a Proclamation there, inviting all that had been of late oppressed, to come in and make their Complaints, and he promised to repair them. This was done to cast the Load of all past Errours upon *Cromwell*. The King was mightily wrought on by the Charms of his Wife; so that on the first of *November* he gave publick Thanks to God for the happy Choice he had made: But this did not last long; for the next Day *Cranmer* came, and gave him an Account of the Queen's ill Life, which one *Lassels* had revealed to him, as having learnt it from his Sister. She had been very Lewd before her Marriage, both with one *Deirham*, and one *Mannock*. *Cranmer*, by the Advice of the other Privy Councellors, put this in Writing, and delivered it to the King, not knowing how to open it in Discourse. The King was struck with it, and at first inclined to believe it was a Forgery; yet he ordered a strict Enquiry to be made into it, but he quickly found Proof enough; for the Queen had so far cast off both Modesty, and the Fear of a Discovery, that several Women had been Witnesses to her Lewdness. It also appeared, that she had intended to continue in that ill Course; for she had brought *Deirham* into her Service; and at *Lincoln*, by the Lady *Rochford*'s means, one *Culpeper* was

The Queen's ill Life is discovered.

Book I. brought to her in the Night, and ſtaid many Hours with her in a Cellar, and at his going away ſhe gave him a Gold Chain. The Queen, after a ſlight Denial which ſhe made at firſt, did at laſt confeſs all. *Deirham* and *Culpeper* were executed, and a Parliament was called upon it. When it met, a Committee was ſent to examine the Queen: Their Report is Recorded only in General, That ſhe confeſſed, but no Particulars are mentioned. Upon that they paſſed an Act, in the form of a Petition. In it they prayed the King, "That the Queen and her Complices, "with her Bawd the Lady *Rochford*, might be "attainted of Treaſon: And that all thoſe who "knew of the Queen's Vicious Courſe before "her Marriage, might be attainted of Miſpriſion "of Treaſon, for not revealing it to the King "before he married her. Among thoſe were "her Father and Mother, her Grandmother, and "the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*. It was alſo declared "Treaſon, to know any thing of the Incontinence of any Queen for the future, and not to "reveal it. And it was made Treaſon in any "whom the King intended to marry, judging "they were Maids, not to reveal it, if they "were nor ſuch. The Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded on the 14*th* of *February*. She confeſſed her Incontinence before her Marriage, but denied to the laſt that ſhe had broken her Wedlock, tho' the Laciviouſneſs of her former Life, made the World eaſy to believe the worſt things of her. All obſerved the Judgments of God on the Lady *Rochford*, who had been ſo Inſtrumental in the Ruin of *Anne Bolleyn*, and of her Husband: And when ſhe, to whoſe Artifices their Fall was in a great meaſure aſcribed, was found to be ſo vile a Woman, it

1541.

tended

tended much to raiſe their Reputation again. The attainting her Kindred and Parents, for not diſcovering her former Lewdneſs, was thought extream Severity: For it had been a hard piece of Duty to the King, in them, to have diſcovered ſuch a Secret: Yet tho' they lay ſome time in Priſon, the King pardoned them all afterwards, when his Rage was a little qualified. That other *Proviſo*, obliging a young Woman to diſcover her own Faultineſs, if the King ſhould make love to her, was thought a piece of grievous Tyranny: And upon this, thoſe that rallied that Sex, took occaſion to ſay, That after this, none who was reputed a Maid, could be induced to marry the King: So that it was not ſo much choice, as neceſſity, that made him marry a Widow, two Years after. Some Hoſpitals were this Year reſigned to the King: But there was good ground to queſtion the Validity of thoſe Deeds, becauſe by their Statutes it was provided, that the Conſent of all the Fellows, was neceſſary to make their Deeds good in Law. So thoſe Statutes were now by a ſpecial Act annulled, and this made way for the Diſſolution of many Hoſpitals. Book I. 1542.

The Biſhops ſitting in Convocation, took great pains to ſuppreſs the Engliſh Bible; but the King could not be prevailed on directly to call it in. So they complained much of the Tranſlation then ſet out; and intended to procure a Condemnation of that, and then to ſet about a new one, in which it would be eaſy to put ſuch Delays, that it ſhould not be finiſhed in many Years. *Gardiner* did alſo propoſe a ſingular Conceit, that many of the Latin Words ſhould be ſtill retained in the Engliſh; for he thought that they had either ſuch a Majeſty, or ſo peculiar a Signification, that they could not be fitly rendered. A Deſign to ſuppreſs the Bible.

Book I. 1542. He propoſed an hundred of thoſe, and it ſeems hoped, that if this could be carried, the Tranſlation would be ſo full of Latin Words, that the People ſhould not underſtand it for all its being in Engliſh. *Cranmer*, perceiving that the Bible was a great Eye-ſore of that Party; and that they were reſolved to ſuppreſs it by all the means they could think of, procured an Order from the King, referring the Correction of the Tranſlation to the two Univerſities. The Biſhops took this very ill; and all of them, except the Biſhops of *Ely* and St. *Davids*, proteſted againſt it.

Bonner's Injunctions. At this time, *Bonner* gave ſome Injunctions to his Clergy, which had a ſtrain in them, ſo far different from the other parts of his Life, that it is probable, he drew them not himſelf. "He "required his Clergy to read every Day a Chap-"ter in the Bible, with ſome Gloſs upon it; and "to ſtudy the Book ſet out by the Biſhops: "That they ſhould employ no Curats, but ſuch "as he approved of: That they ſhould take "care to inſtruct young Children well, in the "Principles of the Chriſtian Religion: That "they ſhould not go to Taverns; nor uſe un-"lawful Games, chiefly on Sundays or Holy-"Days: That they ſhould perform all the Du-"ties of their Function decently, and ſeriouſly: "That they ſhould ſuffer no Plays, nor Inter-"ludes in Churches: And that in their Sermons, "they ſhould explain the Goſpel and Epiſtle for "the Day; and ſtudy to ſtir up the People to "Good-works, and to Prayer; and ſhould ex-"plain all the Ceremonies of the Church, but "ſhould forbear all railing or the reciting of "fabulous Stories, and ſhould chiefly ſet forth "the Excellencies of Vertue, and the Vileneſs

"of

" of Sin: And that none under the Degree of a Book I.
" Biſhop ſhould preach without a Licence.

In the former times there had been few or no Sermons, except in Lent; for on Holy-Days the Sermons were Panegyricks on the Saints, and on the virtue of their Relicks. But in Lent there was a more ſolemn way of Preaching; and the Friers maintained their Credit much by the pathetick Sermons they preached in that time, by which they wrought much on the Affections of the People; yet theſe for the moſt part tended to extol ſome of the Laws of the Church, as Faſting, Confeſſion, and other Auſterities, with the making Pilgrimages; but they were careful to acquaint the People as little as was poſſible, with the true Simplicity of Chriſtianity, or the Scriptures; and they ſeemed to deſign rather to raiſe a ſudden Heat, than to work a real Change in their Auditors. They had alſo mixt ſo much out of Legends with their Sermons, that the People came to diſbelieve all that they ſaid for the ſake of thoſe fabulous things, with which their Sermons were embaſed. The Reformers took great care to Inſtruct their Hearers in the Fundamentals of Religion, of which they had known little formerly: This made the Nation run after theſe *Teachers* with a wonderful Zeal, but they mixed too much ſharpneſs againſt the Friers in their Sermons, which was judged indecent in them to do; tho' their Hypocriſy and Cheats did in a great meaſure excuſe thoſe Heats: And it was obſerved that our Saviour had expoſed the *Phariſees* in ſo plain a manner, that it did very much juſtify the treating them with ſome Roughneſs; yet it is not to be denied but Reſentments for the Cruelties they or their Friends had ſuffered by their means, might have

1542. The way of Preaching in that time.

too

Book I. too much Influence on them. This made it seem necessary to suffer none to preach, at least out of
1542. their own Parishes, without Licence, and many were licensed to Preach as Itinerants. There was also a Book of Homilies on all the Epistles and Gospels in the Year, put out, which contained a plain Paraphrase of those Parcels of Scripture; together with some practical Exhortations founded on them. Many Complaints were made of those that were licensed to preach, and that they might be able to justifie themselves, they began generally to write and read their Sermons: And thus did this Custom begin (in which, what is wanting in the Heat and force of Delivery, is much made up by the Strength and Solidity of the Matter; and has produced many Volumes of as excellent Sermons, as have been preached in any Age.) Plays and Interludes were a great Abuse in that time; in them Mock-Representations were made both of the Clergy and of the Pageantry of their Worship. The Clergy complained much of these as an Introduction to Atheism, when things Sacred were thus laught at; and said, they that began to laugh at Abuses, would not cease till they had represented all the Mysteries of Religion as Ridiculous; The graver sort of Reformers did not approve of it, but political Men encouraged it; and thought nothing would more effectually pull down the Abuses, that yet remained, than the exposing them to the Scorn of the Nation.

A war with *Scotland.* A War did now break out between *England* and *Scotland*, at the Instigation of the King of *France*. King *Henry* set out a Declaration, pretending that the Crown of *Scotland* owed Homage to him: And cited many Precedents to shew that Homage was done not only by their Kings,

Kings, but by consent of the States; for which Original Records were appealed to. The *Scots*, on the other hand, asserted, that they were a free and independent Kingdom; that the Homages anciently made by their Kings, were only for Lands which they had in *England*; and that those more lately made, were either offered by Pretenders in the case of a doubtful Title, or were extorted by Force: And they said, their Kings could not give up the Rights of a Free Crown and People. The Duke of *Norfolk* made an Inroad into *Scotland*, with *Twenty thousand* Men in *October*: but after he had burnt some small Towns, and wasted *Teviotdale*, he returned back to *England*. In the end of *November* an Army of *Fifteen thousand Scots*, with a good Train of Artillery, was brought together: They intended to March into *England* by the *Western* Road. The King went to it in Person, but he was at this time much disturbed in his Fancy, and thought the Ghost of one whom he had unjustly put to Death, followed him continually; he not only left the Army, but sent a Commission to *Oliver Sinclare*, then called his *Minion*, to Command in chief. This disgusted the Nobility very much, who were become weary of the Insolence of that Favourite: So they refused to March, and were beginning to separate. While they were in this Disorder, 500 *English* appeared, and they apprehending it was a fore Party of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Army, refused to fight, so the *English* fell upon them and dispersed them: They took all their Ordnance and Baggage, and *One thousand* Prisoners, of whom *Two hundred* were Gentlemen. The chief of these were the Earls of *Glencarn* and *Cassilis*: The News of this, so over-charged the Melancholy King, that he died soon

Book I. 1542.

Book I. 1542. ſoon after, leaving only an Infant Daughter newly born to ſucceed him. The Lords that were taken were brought up to *London*, and lodged in the Houſes of the *Engliſh* Nobility: *Caſſilis* was ſent to *Lambeth*, where he received thoſe Seeds of Knowledge, which produced afterwards a great Harveſt in *Scotland*. The other Priſoners were alſo inſtructed to ſuch a degree, that they came to have very different Thoughts of the Changes that had been made in *England*, from what the *Scotiſh* Clergy had poſſeſſed them with; who had encouraged their King to engage in a War, both by the aſſurance of Victory, ſince he fought againſt an Heretical Prince, and the Contributions of *Fifty thouſand Crowns* a Year. The King's Death, and the Crown falling to his Daughter, made the *Engliſh* Council lay hold on this as a proper Conjuncture for uniting the whole Iſland in one: Therefore they ſent for the *Scotiſh* Lords, and propoſed to them the marrying the Prince of *Wales* to their young Queen; this the *Scots* liked very well, and promiſed to promote it all they could: And ſo upon their giving Hoſtages for the performing their Promiſes faithfully, they were ſent home, and went away much pleaſed both with the Splendor of the King's Court, and with the way of Religion which they had ſeen in *England*.

A Parliament called. A Parliament was called, in which the King had great Subſidies given him, of Six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three Years. A Bill was propoſed for the advancement of true Religion, by *Cranmer*, and ſome other Biſhops; for the Spirits of the Popiſh Party were much fallen ever ſince the laſt Queen's Death; yet at this time a Treaty was ſet on foot between the King and the Emperour, which raiſed them a little;

little: For ſince the King was like to engage in a War with *France*, it was neceſſary for him to make the Emperour his Friend. *Cranmer*'s Motion was much oppoſed, and the timorous Biſhops forſook him; yet he put it as far as it would go, tho' in moſt Points things went againſt him; "By it *Tindall*'s Tranſlation of the "Bible was condemned as crafty and falſe, and "alſo all other Books contrary to the Doctrine "ſet forth by the Biſhops. But Bibles of ano- "ther Tranſlation, were ſtill allowed to be kept, "only all Prefaces or Annotations that might be "in them, were to be daſhed or cut out: All "the King's injunctions were confirmed: No "Books of Religion might be printed with- "out Licence; there was to be no Expoſition "of Scripture in Plays or Interludes; none of "the Laity might read the Scripture, or explain "it in any Publick Aſſembly: But a *Proviſo* "was made for Publick Speeches, which then "began generally with a Text of Scripture, and "were like Sermons. Noblemen, Gentlemen and "their Wives, or Merchants might have Bibles, "but no ordinary Woman, Tradſeman, Appren- "tice, or Husbandman, might have any. Every "Perſon might have the Book ſet out by the "Biſhops, and the Pſalter and other Rudiments "of Religion in Engliſh. All Church-men that "preached contrary to that Book, for the firſt "Offence, were only required to recant; for "the ſecond, to abjure and carry a Faggot; but "were to be burnt for the third: The Laity for "the third Offence were only to forfeit their "Good and Chattles, and to be liable to per- "petual Impriſonment; but they were to be "proceeded againſt within a Year: the Parties "accuſed were not allowed Witneſſes for their "Pur-

An Act about Religion.

Book I 1543. "Purgation. The Act of the ſix Articles was "confirmed, and it was left free to the King, to "change this Act, or any *Proviſo* in it. There was alſo an Act paſt, giving Authority to the King's Proclamations, and any nine Privy-Councellours were empowered to proceed againſt Offenders. To this the Lord *Mountjoy* diſſented, and it is the only inſtance of any Proteſtation againſt any of the publick Acts that paſt in this whole Reign. By the Act about Religion, as the Laity were delivered from the fear of Burning; ſo the Clergy might not be burnt but upon the third Conviction. The Act being alſo put entirely in the King's Power; he had now the Reformers all at mercy; for he could bind up the Act, or execute it as he pleaſed; and he affected this much, to have his People depend intirely upon him. The League offenſive and defenſive for *England* and *Calais*, and for the *Netherlands*, was ſworn by the King and the Emperour: and Aſſurances were given, that tho' the King would not declare Lady *Mary* legitimate, upon which the Emperour inſiſted much, yet ſhe ſhould be put in the Succeſſion to the Crown next Prince *Edward*. The Emperour was glad thus to engage the Kings of *England* and *France* in a War, by which the *Germans* were left without Support, and ſo he reſolved to carry on his great deſign of making himſelf Maſter of *Germany*.

Affairs in *Scotland*.

In *Scotland* the Earl of *Arran*, *Hamilton*, next in Blood to the young Queen, was eſtabliſhed in the Government during the Queen's Minority: He was a Man of great Virtue, and much inclined to the Reformation; but was ſoft and eaſie to be wrought on. King *Henry* ſent Sir *Ralph Sadler* to him, to induce him to ſet forward the Match; and to offer him Lady *Elizabeth* to his Son.

Son. It was agreed and confirmed in Parliament, that the Young Queen ſhould be bred in *Scotland* till ſhe was ten Years old; the King of *England* ſending a Nobleman and his Lady with others not exceeding twenty, to wait on her: and after that Age, ſhe was to be ſent to *England*; and in the mean while ſix Hoſtages were to be given: but all the Clergy, headed by Cardinal *Beaton*, ſet themſelves much againſt this. The Queen-mother oppoſed it much, and it was alſo ſaid, a Match with the *French* would be more for the Intereſt of the Nation, who being at ſo great a diſtance, could not oppreſs them ſo eaſily as the *Engliſh* might: for if the *French* oppreſt them, the *Engliſh* would be ready to protect them, but if they came under the Yoke of *England*, they could expect no Protection from any other Prince. This meeting with that Antipathy that was then formed between the two Nations, and being inflamed by the Clergy, turned the People generally to prefer a Match with *France*, to that which was propoſed for the Prince of *Wales*. The *French* ſent over the Earl of *Lennox* to make a Party againſt the Governour; they ſent alſo over the Governour's Baſe Brother, afterwards made Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, to take him out of the hands of the *Engliſh*: and he made him apprehend great danger if he went on in his Oppoſition to the Intereſts of *Rome*, that he would be declared illegitimate, as being begotten in a ſecond Marriage, while the firſt that was annulled becauſe of a Precontract, did ſubſiſt; for if the annulling the firſt ſhould be reverſed, then the ſecond could be of no force; and if that were once done, the Earl of *Lennox*, who was next to him in Blood, would be preferred to him: Theſe

Book I. 1543.

Book I. These threatnings joyned with his Brother's Artifices, had their full Effect on him: for he turned off wholly from the Interests of *England*, and gave himself up to the *French* Councils. When it was thus resolved to break the Match with *England*; the Lords that had left Hostages for their faithful performing the Promises they made to King *Henry*, were little concerned either in their own Honour, or in the safety of their Hostages: only the Earl of *Cassilis*, thought it was unworthy of him, to break his Faith in such a manner; so he came into *England*, and put himself in King *Henry*'s Hands, who upon that called him another *Regulus*, but used him better; for he gave him his Liberty and a Noble Present, and sent him back with his Hostages, but resolved to take a severe Reparation of those who had failed him in that Kingdom. At the same time he began the War with *France*; one of the Reasons he gave for it was, that *Francis* had failed in the matter of shaking off the Pope's Authority, and advancing a Reformation, in which he had promised to second him.

1543.

Some burnt at *Windsor*.

The King married *Katherine Parre*, Widow to *Nevill*, Lord *Latimer*: She secretly favoured the Reformiaton, but could not divert a Storm which fell then on a Society at *Windsor*. *Person* a Priest, *Testwood* and *Marbeck*, two Singing-men, and *Filmer*, one of the Town, were informed against by Dr. *London*, who had insinuated himself much into *Cromwell*'s Favour, and was eminently zealous in the suppression of the Monasteries: But now he made his Court no less dexterously to the Popish party. *Gardiner* moved in Council, That a Commission might be granted for searching all suspected Houses, for Books written against the six Articles: So the four before

fore mentioned, were found to have ſome of them; and upon that account were ſeized on. Sir *Philip Hobbey*, and Dr. *Hains* Dean of *Exeter*, were alſo put in Priſon. There was a Concordance of the Bible, and ſome Notes upon it, in Engliſh, found written by *Marbeck*, which was look'd on as the Work of ſome learned Man, for it was known that he was illiterate. *Marbeck* ſaid, the Notes were his own, gathered by him out of ſuch Books as he fell on. And for the Concordance, he ſaid he compiled it by the help of a Latin Concordance, and an Engliſh Bible, tho' he underſtood little Latin. He had brought it to the Letter L. This ſeemed ſo incredible, that it was look'd on only as a Pretence to conceal the true Author, ſo to try him, they gave him ſome Words of the Letter M. and ſhut him up, with a Latin Concordance, and an Engliſh Bible; and by his performance in that, they clearly ſaw, that the whole Work was his own, and were not a little aſtoniſhed at the Ingeniouſneſs and Diligence of ſo poor a Man. When the King heard of it, he ſaid, *Marbeck* was better imployed than they were that examined him: So he was preſerved, tho' the other three were condemned for ſome Words which they had ſpoken againſt the Maſs, and upon that were burnt. Dr. *London*, and *Simonds* an Attorney, had taken ſome Informations againſt ſeveral Perſons of Quality at Court, and intended to have carried the Deſign very high. But a great Pacquet, in which all their Project was diſcloſed by them, being intercepted they were ſent for, and examined about it; but they denied it upon Oath, not knowing that their Letters were taken; and were not a little confounded when their own Hand-writing was ſhewed them. So they were con-

Book I. 1543.

Book I. victed of Perjury, and were ſet on a Pillory, and made ride about with their Faces to the Horſes Tails, and Papers on their Breaſts, in three ſeveral Places, which did ſo affect Dr. *London*, that he died ſoon after.

1543.

Cranmer's Ruin is deſigned.

The chief thing aimed at by the whole Popiſh Party was *Cranmer's* Ruin; *Gardiner* imployed many to infuſe it into the King, that he gave the chief encouragement to *Hereſie* of any in *England*, and that it was in vain to lop off the Branches, and leave the Root ſtill growing. The King till then would never hear the Complaints that were made of him: But now to penetrate into the depth of this Deſign, he was willing to draw out all that was to be ſaid againſt him. *Gardiner* reckoned, that this Point being gained, all the reſt would follow: And judged that the King was now alienated from him; and ſo more Inſtruments and Artifices than ever were now made uſe of. A long Paper, of many Particulars, both againſt *Cranmer*, and his Chaplains, was put in the King's hands. So upon this the King ſent for him; and after he had complained much of the Hereſie in *England*, he ſaid, he reſolved to find out the chief Promoter of it, and to make him an Example. *Cranmer* wiſhed him firſt to conſider well what Hereſie was, that ſo he might not condemn thoſe as Hereticks, who ſtood for the Word of God againſt Human Inventions. Then the King told him frankly, That he was the Man complained of, as moſt guilty; and ſhewed him all the Informations that he had received againſt him. *Cranmer* confeſſed he was ſtill of the ſame mind that he was of when he oppoſed the ſix Articles, and ſubmitted himſelf to a Trial: He confeſſed many things to the King; in particular, that he had a Wife, but he

ſaid

said he had sent her out of *England*, when the Act of the six Articles past; and expressed so great a Sincerity, and put so entire a Confidence in the King, that instead of being ruined, he was now better established with him than formerly. The King commanded him to appoint some to examine the *Contrivance* that was laid to destroy him. He answered, That it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a Cause, in which himself was concerned: Yet the King was positive; so he named some to go about it, and the whole secret was found out. It appeared, that *Gardiner*, and Dr. *London*, had been the chief Sticklers, and had encouraged Informers to appear against him. *Cranmer* did not press the King to give him any Reparation, for he was so noted for his readiness to forgive Injuries, and to do Good for Evil, that it was commonly said, that the best way to obtain his Favour, was to do him an Injury: of this he gave signal Instances at this time, both in Relation to some of the Clergy and Laity; by which it appeared that he was acted by that meek and lowly Spirit, that became all the Followers of Christ; but more particularly one, that was so great an Instrument in reforming the Christian Religion; and did in such eminent Acts of Charity, shew that he himself practised that, which he taught others to do. Book I. 1543.

A Parliament was now called, in which the great Act of Succession to the Crown past: "By "it the Crown was first provided to Prince *Edward* and his Heirs, or the Heirs of the King's "present Marriage; after them to Lady *Mary* "and *Elizabeth*, and in case they had no Issue, "or did not observe such Limitations or Conditi-"ons as the King should appoint, then it was to 1544. The Act of the Succession.

Book I. 1544. "fall to any other whom the King ſhould name, "either by his Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will "ſigned with his Hand. An Oath was appointed "both againſt the Pope's Supremacy, and for "the maintaining the Succeſſion according to "this Act, which All were required to take, un-"der the pains of Treaſon: It was made Treaſon "to ſay or write any thing contrary to this Act, "or to the ſlander of any of the King's Heirs na-"med in it. By this, tho' the King did not Legitimate his Daughters, yet it was made Criminal for any to object Baſtardy to them. Another Act paſt, qualifying the Severity of the Act of the ſix Articles; none were to be impriſoned but upon a Legal Preſentment, except upon the King's Warrant. None was to be challenged for Words, but within a Year; nor for a Sermon, but within forty Days. This was made to prevent ſuch Conſpiracies as had been diſcovered the former Year. Another Act paſt, renewing the Authority given to Thirty two to reform the Eccleſiaſtical Law, which *Cranmer* promoted much, and to ſet it forward, he drew out of the Canon Law, a Collection of many things againſt the Regal, and for the Papal Authority, with ſeveral other very Extravagant Propoſitions, to ſhew how indecent a thing it was to let a Book, in which ſuch things were, continue ſtill in any credit in *England:* But he could not bring it to any good Iſſue, during this Reign. Another Act paſt, diſcharging all the King's Debts; and they alſo required ſuch as had received payments, to bring back the Money into the *Exchequer*. This was taxed as a piece of groſs Injuſtice; and it was thought ſtrange, that ſince the King had done this once before, he could have the credit to raiſe more Money, and be tempted to do it a ſecond time

time. A general Pardon was granted, out of which *Hereſie* was excepted. Book I.

1544. *The King makes War on France and Scotland.*

The King was now engaged in a War, both with *France* and *Scotland*; and to make his Treaſure hold out the longer, he embaſed the Coin in a very extraordinary manner. The Earl of *Hartford* was ſent with an Army by Sea to *Scotland*; he landed at *Grantham*, a little above *Leith*. He burnt both *Leith* and *Edingburgh*; but he neither ſtaid to take the Caſtle of *Edingburgh*, nor did he fortify *Leith*, but only waſted the Country all the way from that to *Berwick*. He did too much if it was intended to gain the Hearts of that Nation, and too little if it was intended to ſubdue them; for this did only inflame their Spirits more, by which they were ſo united in their averſion to *England*, that the Earl of *Lennox*, who had been caſt off by *France*, and was gone over to the Engliſh Intereſt, could make no Party in the *Weſt*, but was forced, for his own preſervation, to fly into *England*. *Audley* the Chancellour dying at this time, *Wriothesly*, that was of the Popiſh Party, was put in his place; and Dr. *Petre*, that was hitherto *Cranmer*'s Friend, was made Secretary of State: So equally did the King keep the Ballance between both Parties, and being to croſs the Seas, he left a Commiſſion for the adminiſtration of Affairs, during his abſence, to the Queen, the Arch-biſhop, the Chancellour, the Earl of *Hartford*, and Secretary *Petre*: And if they ſhould have any occaſion to raiſe any Force, he appointed the Earl of *Hartford* his Lieutenant. He gave order alſo to tranſlate the Prayers, and Proceſſions, and Litanies, into the Engliſh Tongue, which gave the Reformers ſome hopes again, that he had not quite caſt off his Deſigns of Reforming ſuch

Book I. Abuſes as had crept into the Worſhip of God. And they hoped, That the Reaſons which pre-
1544. vailed with the King for this, would alſo induce him to order a Tranſlation of all the other Offices into the Engliſh Tongue.

The King takes *Bulloign.* The King croſſed the Sea with great Pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloth of Gold. He ſat down before *Bulloign*, and took it after a Seige of two Months. It was ſoon after very near being retaken by a Surpriſe, but the Garriſon being quickly put in order, beat out the French. Thus the King returned Victorious; and was as much flattered for taking this ſingle Town, as if he had conquered a Kingdom. The Inroads that were made into *Scotland* this Winter, were unſucceſsful.

1545. The King of *France* ſet out a Fleet of above 300 Ships; and the King ſet out an hundred Sail: On both ſides they were only Merchant-men hired upon this Occaſion. The French made two Deſcents upon *England*, but were beat back with loſs. The Engliſh made a Deſcent in *Normandy*, and burnt ſome Towns. The Princes of *Germany* ſaw their Danger if this War went on; for the Pope and Emperour had made a League for procuring Obedience to the Council that was now opened at *Trent*. The Emperour was raiſing an Army, tho' he had made Peace, both with the King of *France*, and the Turk; and was reſolved to make good uſe of this Opportunity, the two Crowns being now in War. So the *Germans* ſent to mediate a Peace between them: But it ſtuck long at the buſineſs of *Bulloign*.

Edward Lee, Archbiſhop of *York*, died this Year. *Holgate* was removed from *Landaff* thither, who in his Heart favoured the Reformation. *Kitchin* was put in *Landaff*, who turned with every

Change

Change that was made. *Heath* was removed from *Rocheſter*; and *Holbeach* was put in *Rocheſter*. *Day* was made Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. All thoſe were moderate Men, and well-diſpoſed to a Reformation, at leaſt to comply with it. Book I. 1545.

This Year *Wiſhart* was burnt in *Scotland*: He was educated at *Cambridge*, and went home the former Year. In many places he preached againſt Idolatry, and the other Abuſes in Religion. He ſtayed long at *Dundee*; but by the means that Cardinal *Beaton* uſed, he was driven out of that Town; and at his Departure, he denounced heavy Judgments on them, for rejecting the Goſpel. He went and preached in many other places, and Entrance to the Churches being denied him, he preached in the Fields. He would not ſuffer the People to open the Church Doors by Violence, for that, he ſaid, became not the Goſpel of Peace which he preached to them. He heard the Plague had broke out in *Dundee*, within four Days after he was baniſhed; ſo he returned thither, and took care of the Sick, and did all the Offices of a Faithfull Paſtor among them. He ſhewed his Gentleneſs towards his Enemies, by reſcuing a Prieſt that was coming to kill him, but was diſcovered, and was like to have been torn in pieces by the People. He foretold ſeveral extraordinary things; particularly his own Sufferings, and the ſpreading the Reformation over the Land. He preached laſt in *Lothian*, and there the Earl of *Bothwell* took him, but promiſed upon his Honour, that no harm ſhould be done him; yet he delivered him to the Cardinal, who brought him to St. *Andrews*, and called a Meeting of Biſhops thither, to deſtroy him with the more Solemnity. The Governour being much preſt to it, by a worthy

Wiſhart burnt in *Scotland*.

Book I. Gentleman of his Name, *Hamilton* of *Preſton*, ſent the Cardinal word not to proceed againſt him, till he ſhould come and hear the matter examined himſelf. But the Cardinal went on, and in a publick Court condemned him as an Heretick, upon ſeveral Articles that were objected to him, which he confeſſed, and offered to juſtify. The Night after that he ſpent in Prayer, next Morning he deſired he might have the Sacrament according to Chriſt's Inſtitution in both Kinds; but that being denied him, he Conſecrated the Elements himſelf, and ſome about him were willing to Communicate with him. He was carried out to the Stake near the Cardinal's Palace; who was ſet in ſtate in a great Window, and looked on this ſad Spectacle. *Wiſhart* declared that he felt much joy within himſelf, in offering up his Life for the Name of Chriſt, and exhorted the People not to be offended at the Word of God, for the ſake of the Croſs. After the Fire was ſet to, and was burning him, he ſaid, "This Flame has ſcorched my Body, but "hath not daunted my Spirits; and he foretold "that the Cardinal ſhould in a few Days be ig-"nominiouſly laid out in that very place where "he now ſat in ſo much ſtate. But as he ſpake that, the Executioner drew the Cord that was about his Neck ſo ſtrait, that theſe were the laſt Words.

1540.

The Clergy rejoyced much at his Death, and extolled the Cardinal's Courage, for proceeding in it againſt the Governour's Orders. But the People looked on him as both a Prophet and a Martyr. It was alſo ſaid that his Death was no leſs than Murder, ſince no Writ was obtained for it; and the Clergy could burn none without a Warrant from the Secular Power: So it was inferred

ferred that the Cardinal deſerved to die for it; and if his Greatneſs ſet him above the Law, then private Perſons might execute that which the Governour could not do: Such Practices had been formerly too common in that Kingdom; and now upon this Occaſion ſome Gentlemen of Quality, came to think it would be an Heroical Action to conſpire his Death. His Inſolence had rendered him generally very hateful: So private and publick Reſentments concurring, twelve Perſons entred into a fatal engagement of killing him privately in his Houſe. On the 30*th* of *May*, they firſt ſurpriſed the Gate early in the Morning, and tho' there were an Hundred lodged in the Caſtle, yet they being aſleep, they came to them apart, and either turned them out, or ſhut them up in their Chambers: Having made all ſure, they came to the Cardinal's Chamber-door; he was faſt aſleep, but by their rudeneſs he was both awakened, and perceived they had a Deſign on his Life: Upon the aſſurance of Life, he opened his Door, but they did cruelly and treacherouſly Murder him, and laid out his Body in the ſame Window from which he had looked on *Wiſhart*'s Execution. Some few juſtified this Fact, as the killing of a Robber or Murderer; but it was more generally condemned by all ſorts of People, even by thoſe who hated him moſt; yet the Accompliſhment of *Wiſhart*'s Prediction made great Impreſſions on many. On the other hand, it was afterwards obſerved that ſcarce any of the Conſpirators died an ordinary Death. They kept out the Caſtle, and about 140 came in to them, and they held it near two Years, being aſſiſted both by Money and Proviſions that were ſent from *England*. They had alſo the Governour at their mercy, for they kept his eldeſt Son, whom the Cardinal

Book I. 1545.

Cardinal Beaton is murdered.

Book I. Cardinal had taken into his Care for his Education. An Abſolution was brought from *Rome*,
1545. and a Pardon was offered them; and at laſt, being ſtraitned both at Sea and Land, they rendred the Place upon aſſurance of Life. This Infamous Action was a great blemiſh upon the Reformers, who, tho' they did not directly juſtify it, yet extenuated it, and gave it ſome countenance; for two of them went in and preached to the Garriſon in the Caſtle.

Chantries given to the King. In *England* a Parliament met, in which, as the Spirituality gave a Subſidy of ſix Shillings in the Pound, payable in two Years; ſo the Temporalty not only gave a Subſidy for the War, but confirmed all the Surrenders that had been made of Chantries, Chappels, Colleges, Hoſpitals, and other Foundations, for ſaying Maſſes for departed Souls: And they impowered the King during his Life to grant Commiſſions for ſeizing on the reſt of them. Yet the King found this was like to give new diſcontent to the Gentry, to whom theſe belonged, ſo he made but a ſmall Progreſs in it, and many were reſerved to his Son's Courtiers to feed on. The King diſmiſſed the Parliament with a long Speech, "In which, "after he had thanked them for their Bills, he "exhorted them to Charity and Concord in mat- "ters of Religion; and to forbear all Terms of "Reproach, ſuch as *Papiſt* and *Heretick*: He com- "plained much of the ſtifneſs of ſome Church- "men, and of the indiſcretion of others, who "both gave ill Example, and ſowed the Seeds "of Diſcord among the Laity. He, as God's "Vicar, thought himſelf bound to ſee theſe "things corrected: He reproved the Temporal- "ty for the ill uſe they made of the Scripture; "for inſtead of being taught out of it to live

"better,

" better, and to be more charitable to one an- Book I.
" other, they only railed at one another, and
" made Songs out of it, to diſgrace thoſe that dif- 1546.
" fered from them; ſo he exhorted them to ſerve
" God, and love one another, which he would
" eſteem the beſt Expreſſion of their Duty and
" Obedience to him. The King had appointed a Diſtribution of 550 *l.* a Year in ſeveral Cathedrals, for the Poor, and about 400 *l.* for Highways: ſo this Year ſome Biſhops were appointed to ſee whether thoſe Payments were made as he had ordered, or not. The Univerſities were now in danger of having their Colleges ſuppreſt, but upon their applications to the King, they were delivered from their Fears.

Now came on the laſt Year of this Reign, the War with *France* was this Year unſucceſsful, but upon the Earl of *Surrey*'s being recalled, and the Earl of *Hartford*'s being ſent in his room, things turned a little. This raiſed ſuch Animoſity between thoſe two Lords, that they became fatal to the former. The two Kings were at laſt brought to conſent to a Peace; the main Article of it was, that within eight Years *Bulloign* ſhould be delivered up, the taking and keeping of which, coſt *England Thirteen hundred thouſand Pounds*. Upon this Peace *Annebault* the *French* Admiral, was ſent over Ambaſſadour. The Council of *Trent* was now ſitting, *Pool* was made a Legate to do the King the more Spite: The Emperour and the Pope governed it as they pleaſed: So the two Crowns reſolved to unite more firmly; particularly it was propoſed, that the Maſs ſhould be turned to a Communion; and *Cranmer* was ordered to prepare the Office for it. But this was too great a Deſign for two old Kings to accompliſh. A Peace with *France*.

There

Book I.

1546. *Anne Aiſcough* and others burnt.

There was at this time a new Proſecution of thoſe that denied the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament, *Shaxton* was accuſed of ſome Words about it, but he abjured, and complied ſo entirely, that ſoon after he preached the Sermon at the burning of *Anne Aiſcough*; he made no noiſe all King *Edward*'s time, yet in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, he was a Perſecutor of *Proteſtants*, but was ſo little eſteemed, that tho' he had been Biſhop of *Salisbury*, he was raiſed no higher than to be Biſhop Suffragan of *Ely*. Several other Perſons were at this time indicted upon the ſame Statute, but moſt of them recanted; *Anne Aiſcough* ſtood firm; ſhe was deſcended from a good Family, and had been well educated, but was unhappily married; for her Husband being a violent *Papiſt*, drove her out of his Houſe, when he diſcovered her Inclinations to the Reformation; ſhe was put in Priſon on the account of the Sacrament, but ſigned a Recantation; and ſo was ſet at Liberty; yet not long after ſhe was committed again upon a new Complaint, and was examined before the Privy Council, but anſwered with extraordinary Reſolution; yet it was thought by ſome that ſhe was too forward in her manner of ſpeaking: She had been much at Court, and it was believed ſhe was ſupported by ſome Ladies there; ſo in order to the diſcovery of this, ſhe was carried to the *Tower* and racked; yet ſhe confeſs'd nothing. *Wriotheſly* was preſent, and commanded the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to draw the Rack a little more, but he refuſed to do it; upon which the Chancellour laid aſide his Gown and drew it himſelf with ſo much Force, as if he had intended to rend her Body aſunder; and the Effects of this were ſo violent, that ſhe was not able to go to *Smithfield*, but was carried thither

thither in a Chair when ſhe was burnt: Two o- Book I.
thers were alſo condemned on the ſame account, and *Shaxton* to compleat his Apoſtacy, after he had in vain endeavoured to perſuade them to abjure, preached the Sermon at their Burning, in which, he inveighed ſeverely againſt their Errors. The Lord Chancellour came to *Smithfield*, and offered them their Pardons if they would recant, but they choſe rather to glorify God by their Deaths, than to diſhonour him by ſo foul an Apoſtacy. There were two burnt in *Suffolk*, and one in *Norfolk* on the ſame account, this Year. 1546.

But the Popiſh Party hoped to have greater Sacrifices offered up to their Revenge: They had laid a Train laſt Year for *Cranmer*, and they had laid one now for the Queen. They perſuaded the King, that *Cranmer* was the Source of all the Hereſy that was in *England*; but the King's Partiality to him was ſuch, that none would come in againſt him: So they deſired that he might be put in the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform againſt him. The King ſeemed to conſent to this; and they reſolved to execute it the next Day: But in the Night the King ſent for *Cranmer*, and told him, what was reſolved concerning him. *Cranmer* thanked the King for giving him notice of it, and not leaving him to be ſurprized. He ſubmitted to it, only he deſired he might be heard to anſwer for himſelf; and that he might have indifferent Judges who underſtood thoſe matters. The King wondered to ſee him ſo little concerned in his own preſervation; but told him, he muſt take care of him, ſince he took ſo little care of himſelf. The King therefore gave him Inſtructions to appear before the Council, and to deſire to ſee his Accuſers before he ſhould be ſent to the *Tower*; Deſigns againſt *Cranmer*.

Book I. 1546.

er; and that he might be used by them, as they would desire to be used in the like Case: And if he could not prevail by the force of Reason, then he was to appeal to the King in Person, and was to shew the King's Seal-Ring, which he took from his Finger and gave him; and they knew it all so well, that they would do nothing after they once saw that; so he being summoned next Morning, came over to *White-hall*: He was kept long in the Lobbey before he he was called in: But when that was done, and he had observed the Method the King had ordered him to use, and had at last shewed the Ring, they rose all in great confusion, and went to the King. He chid them severely for what they had done, and expressed his esteem and kindness to *Cranmer*, in such Terms, that his Enemies were glad to get off, by pretending, that they had no other Design, but to have his Innocence declared in a publick Trial; and were now so convinced of the King's unalterable Favour to him, that they never made any more attempts upon him.

And against the Queen.

But what they durst not do in Relation to *Cranmer*, they thought might be more safely tried against the Queen, who was known to love the *New Learning*, which was the common Phrase for the Reformation. She used to have Sermons in her Privy Chamber which could not be so secretly carried, but that it came to the King's knowledge. Yet her Conduct in all other things was so exact, and she expressed such a tender care of the King's Person, that it was observed, she had gained much upon him; but his Peevishness, growing with his Distempers, made him sometimes uneasy, even to her. They used often to talk of Matters of Religion; and sometimes

sometimes she held up the Argument for the Reformers so stifly, that he was offended at it; yet as soon as that appeared, she let it fall; but once the Debate continuing long, the King expressed his Displeasure at it to *Gardiner*, when she went away. He took hold of this Opportunity, to perswade the King that she was a great Cherisher of Hereticks. *Wriothesly* joyned with him in the same Artifice, and filled the angry King's Head with many Stories; insomuch that he signed the Articles upon which she was to be Impeached. But *Wriothesly* let that Paper fall from him carelesly, and it happened to be taken up by one of the Queen's Friends, who carried it to her: Upon which she went to the King, and brought on a Discourse of Religion; and after a little Opposition, she yielded, and seemed convinced by the King's Reasons, and told him, That she only held up that Argument to be Instructed by him, and sometimes to engage him in Discourse, and so to make him forget his Pains, and this she seconded with such Flattery, that he was perfectly satisfied and reconciled to her. Next Day, as he was walking with her in the Garden, *Wriothesly* came thither on design to have carried her to the *Tower*; but the King chid him severely for it, and was heard to call him *Knave* and *Fool*. The good natured Queen interposed to mitigate his Displeasure; but the King told her, She had no reason to be concerned for him. Thus the Design against her vanished; and *Gardiner* that had set it on, lost the King's Favour entirely by it. Book I. 1546.

The Duke of *Norfolk*'s Fall.

But now the Fall of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surry*, came on. The Father had been long Treasurer, and had served the King with great Fidelity and Success: His Son

Book I. Son was a Man of rare Qualities; he had a great Wit, and was more than ordinary Learned.

1546. He particularly hated the Earl of *Hartford*, and ſcorned an Alliance with him, which his Father had projected. The Duke of *Norfolk* had intended to unite his Family to the *Seimours*, by marrying his Son to the Earl of *Hartford*'s Daughter; and his Daughter the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, to Sir *Thomas Seimour*: But both his Children refuſed to comply with him in it. The *Seimours* were apprehenſive of the Oppoſition they might meet with, if the King ſhould die, from the Earl of *Surry*, who was a high-ſpirited Man, had a vaſt Fortune, and was the Head of the Popiſh Party. It was likewiſe ſuſpected, that he kept himſelf unmarried in hopes of marrying the Lady *Mary*. The Duke's Family was alſo fatally divided: His Dutcheſs had been ſeparated from him about four Years, and now turned Informer againſt him. His Daughter did alſo hate her Brother, and was a Spy upon him. One *Holland*, a Whore of the Duke's, did alſo betray him, and diſcovered all ſhe could; yet all amounted to no more than ſome Complaints of the Father's, who thought the Services he had done the Crown were little regarded; and ſome Threatnings of the Son's. It was alſo ſaid, that the Father gave the Coat of Arms that belonged to the Prince of *Wales*, and the Son gave *Edward* the Confeſſor's Coat; but that was only a Pretence to make a noiſe among the People, and to cover the want of more important matter againſt them. One *Southwel* objected things of a higher Nature to the Earl of *Surry*. He denied them, and deſired, that according to the Martial Law, they might have a Trial by Combate, and fight in their Shirts: But that was

not

not granted; yet both Father and Son were put in the Tower. Book I.

1547. The Earl of *Surry* executed.

The Earl of *Surry* was tried by a Jury of Commoners, and was found guilty of Treason, and executed on the 19th of *January*. He was much lamented; and the Blame of his Death being cast on the *Seimours*, raised a General *Odium* against them. The old Duke saw a Parliament called to destroy him by an Act of Attainder, for there was not matter enough to ruin him at common Law; so to prevent that, he made such humble Submission to the King, as would have mollified any that had not Bowels of Brass. He wrote to him, "That he had spent "his whole Life in his Service, without having "so much as a Thought to his Prejudice. He "had obeyed all the King's Laws, and was "resolved to obey all that ever he should make. "He begged that he might be heard, with his "Accusers face to face. He prayed that the "King would take all his Lands, and Goods, "and only restore him to his Favour, and grant "him such an Allowance to live on, as he "thought fit. He went further, and set his "Hand to a Confession of several Crimes; As, "1. His revealing the Secrets of the King's Coun-"cil. 2. His concealing his Son's Treason, in "giving the Arms of *Edward* the Confessor. "3. His own giving the Arms of *England*, with "the Labels of Silver which belonged only to "the Prince, which he acknowledged was High "Treason, and therefore he begged the King's "Mercy. But all this had no effect on the King, tho' his drawing so near his end, ought to have begot in him a greater regard to the shedding of Innocent Blood.

When the Parliament met, the King was not able

Book I. able to come to *Weſtminſter*, but he ſent his Pleaſure to them by a Commiſſion. He intended to have Prince *Edward* Crowned Prince of *Wales*; and therefore deſired they would make all poſſible haſte in the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, that ſo the Places which he held by Patent, might be diſpoſed of to others, who ſhould aſſiſt at the Coronation; which, tho' it was a very ſlight Excuſe for ſo high a piece of Injuſtice, yet it had that effect, that in ſeven Days both Houſes paſt the Bill. On the 27*th* of *January* the Royal Aſſent was given by thoſe Commiſſioned by the King; and the Execution was ordered to be next Morning. There was no ſpecial Matter in the Act, but that of the Coat of Arms, which he and his Anceſtors were uſed to give, according to Records in the Heraulds Office; ſo that this was condemned by all Perſons as a moſt inexcuſable Act of Tyranny. But the Night after this, the King died; and it was thought contrary to the Decencies of Government, to begin a new Reign with ſo unjuſtifiable an Act, as the beheading of the old Duke, and ſo he was preſerved. Yet both Sides made Inferences from this Calamity that fell on him. The Papiſts ſaid, It was God's juſt Judgment on him for his Obſequiouſneſs to King *Henry*. But the Proteſtants ſaid, It was a juſt Return on him for what he had done againſt *Cromwell*, and many others, on the account of the ſix Articles. *Cranmer* would not meddle in this matter, but that he might be out of the way, he retired to *Croydon*, whereas *Gardiner* that had been his Friend all along, continued ſtill about the Court.

1547. And the Duke Attainted by Act of Parliament.

The King's Sickneſs.

The King's Diſtemper had been growing long upon him. He was become ſo Corpulent, that he could not go up and down Stairs, but made uſe

uſe of an Engine, when he intended to walk in his Garden, by which he was let down and drawn up. He had an old Sore in his Leg, that pained him much, the Humours of his Body diſcharging themſelves that way, till at laſt all ſettled in a Dropſy. Thoſe about him were afraid to let him know that his Death ſeemed near, leſt that might have been brought within the Statute of fore-telling his Death, which was made Treaſon. His Will was made ready, and as it was given out, was ſigned by him on the 30*th* of *December*. He had made one at his laſt going over to *France*. All the Change that he made at this time, was, that he ordered *Gardiner*'s Name to be ſtruck out, for in that formerly made, he was named one of the Executors. When Sir *Anthony Brown* endeavoured to perſuade him not to put that Diſgrace on an old Servant, he continued poſitive in it; for he ſaid he knew his Temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the power of others to do it, if he were put in ſo high a Truſt. The moſt material thing in the Will, was, the preferring the Children of his ſecond Siſter, by *Charles Brandon*, to the Children of his eldeſt Siſter the Queen of *Scotland*, in the Succeſſion to the Crown. Some Objections were made to the Validity and Truth of the Will. It was not ſigned by the King's Hand, as it was directed by the Act of Parliament, but only ſtamp'd with his Name; and it was ſaid, this was done when he was dying, without any Order given for it by himſelf; for proof of which, the *Scots* that were moſt concerned, appealed to many Witneſſes; and chiefly to a Depoſition which the Lord *Paget* had made, who was then Secretary of State. On his Death-bed he finiſhed the

Book I. 1547.

Book I. Foundation of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, and of *Christ's Church* Hospital near *Newgate*; yet
1547. this last was not so fully settled as was needful, till his Son compleated what he had begun.

And Death. On the 27*th* of *January*, his Spirits sunk so, that it was visible he had not long to live. Sir *Anthony Denny* took the courage to tell him, that Death was approaching, and desired him to call on God for his Mercy. The King expresst in general his Sorrow for his past Sins, and his Trust in the Mercies of God in Christ Jesus. He ordered *Cranmer* to be sent for, but he was Speechless before he could be brought from *Croydon*; yet he gave a Sign that he understood what he said to him, and soon after he died in the 57*th* Year of his Age, after he had Reigned 37 Years, and nine Months. His Death was concealed three Days; for the Parliament which was Dissolved with his last Breath, continued to do Business till the 31*st*, and then his Death was published. It is probable the *Seimours* concealed it so long, till they made a Party for the putting the Government into their own Hands.

An Account of his Severities against the Priests. The Severities he used against many of his Subjects in Matters of Religion, made both sides write with great sharpness of him: His Temper was Imperious and Cruel: He was both sudden and violent in his Revenges, and stuck at nothing by which he could either gratify his Lust, or his Passion. This was much provoked, by the Sentence the Pope thundred against him, by the Virulent Books Cardinal *Pool* and others published, by the Rebellions that were raised in *England*, and the Apprehensions he was in of the Emperour's Greatness, and of the Inclinations his People had to have joyned with him, together with what he had read in History of the

Fates

Fates of thoſe Princes, againſt whom Popes had thundred in former times; all which, made him think it neceſſary to keep his People under the Terror of a ſevere Government; and by ſome publick Examples to ſecure the Peace of the Nation; and thereby to prevent a more profuſe Effuſion of Blood, which might have otherwiſe followed if he had been more gentle. And it was no wonder if after the Pope depoſed him, he proceeded to great Severeties againſt all thoſe which ſupported that Authority. Book I. 1547.

The firſt Inſtance of Capital Proceedings upon that account, was in *Eaſter* Term, 1535, in which three Priors and a Monk of the *Carthuſian* Order, were Condemned of Treaſon, for ſaying, That the King was not Supream Head of the Church of *England*. It was then only a *Præmunire*, not to Swear to the Supremacy, but it was made Treaſon to deny it, or ſpeak againſt it. *Hall*, a Secular Prieſt, was at the ſame time condemned of Treaſon, " for calling the King " a Tyrant, an Heretick, a Robber, and an A- " dulterer; and ſaying, that he would die as " King *John*, or *Richard* the Third died; and " that it would never be well with the Church " till the King was brought to Pot; And that " they looked when *Ireland* and *Wales* would " riſe; and were aſſured that three parts of four " in *England* would joyn with them. All theſe pleaded *not Guilty*; but being condemned, they juſtified what they had ſaid. The *Carthuſians* were hanged in their Habits. Soon after that, three *Carthuſians* were condemned, and executed at *London*, and two more at *York*, upon the ſame account, for oppoſing the King's Supremacy. Ten other Monks were ſhut up in their Cells, of whom nine died there, and one was condemn- The *Carthuſians* in particular.

Book I. ed, and hanged. These had been all Complices in the Business of the Maid of *Kent*; and tho' that was pardoned, yet it gave the Government ground to have a watchful Eye over them, and to proceed more severely against them upon the first Provocation.

1547.

Fisher's Sufferings.

After these, *Fisher* and *More* were brought to their Trials; Pope *Clement*'s officious Kindness to *Fisher* in declaring him a Cardinal, did hasten his Ruin, tho' he was little concerned at that Honour that was done him. He was tried by a Jury of Commoners, and was found guilty of Treason, for having spoken against the King's Supremacy: But instead of the Common Death in Cases of Treason, the King ordered him to be beheaded. On the 22*th* of *June* he suffered. He Dress'd himself with more than ordinary Care that Day; for he said, it was to be his Wedding-Day. As he was led out, he opened the New-Testament at a venture, and prayed, that such a place might turn up as might comfort him in his last Moments. The Words on which he cast his Eyes were, *This is Life Eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* So he shut the Book, and continued meditating on these Words to the last. On the Scaffold he repeated the *Te Deum*, and so laid his Head on the Block, which was severed from his Body. He was a learned and devout Man, but much addicted to Superstition, and too cruel in his Temper against Hereticks. He had been Confessor to the King's Grandmother, and persuaded her to found two Colledges in *Cambridge*, *Christ*'s and Saint *John*'s in acknowledgment of which, he was chosen Chancellour of the University. *Henry* the Seventh made him Bishop of *Rochester*: He would ne-

ver

ver exchange that for any other: He ſaid his Church was his Wife, and he would not part with his Wife becauſe ſhe was Poor. He was much eſteemed by the King, till the Suit of the Divorce was ſet on foot; and then he adhered ſtifly to the Marriage, and the Pope's Supremacy, and that made him too favourable to the Nun of *Kent*. But the Severities of his long Impriſonment, together with this Bloody Concluſion of it, were univerſally condemned all the World over; only *Gardiner* imployed his ſervile Pen to write a Vindication of the King's Proceedings againſt him. It was writ in Elegant Latin, but the Stile was thought too Vehement. Book I. 1535.

More's death.

It was harder to find Matter againſt Sir *Thomas More*, for he was very cautious, and ſatisfied his own Conſcience by not Swearing the Supremacy, but would not ſpeak againſt it. He ſaid, "The Act had two Edges, if he conſented "to it, it would damn his Soul; and if he "ſpoke againſt it, it would condemn his Body. "This was all the Meſſage he ſent to *Fiſher*, "when he deſired to know his Opinion about "it; he had alſo ſaid the ſame to the Duke of "*Norfolk*, and ſome Councellours that came to "examine him. And *Rich*, then the King's Solicitor, coming as a private Friend, to perſuade him to Swear the Oath, urged him with "the Act of Parliament, and asked him, if he "ſhould be made King by Act of Parliament, "would not he acknowledge him? He anſwered he would; becauſe a *King might be made, "or deprived by a Parliament*. But the Matter "of the Supremacy was a Point of Religion, to "which the Parliament's Authority did not extend it ſelf. All this *Rich* witneſſed againſt him; ſo theſe Particulars were laid together, as amounting

Book I. mounting to a Denial of the King's Supremacy, and upon this, he was judged guilty of Treason.
1535. He received his Sentence with that equal Temper of Mind which he had ſhewed in both Conditions of Life. He expreſſed great Contempt of the World, and much Wearineſs in living in it. His ordinary Facetiouſneſs remained with him to his laſt Moment on the Scaffold. Some cenſured that as affected and indecent, and as having more of the Stoick than the Chriſtian in it. But others ſaid, that way of Rallery had been ſo cuſtomary to him, that Death did not diſcompoſe him, nor put him out of his ordinary Humour. He was beheaded on the *6th* of *July*, in the 52*d* or 53*d* Year of his Age. He had great Capacities, and eminent Vertues. In his Youth he had freer Thoughts, but he was afterwards much corrupted by Superſtition, and became fierce for all the Intereſts of the Clergy. He wrote much in Defence of all the old Abuſes. His Learning in Divinity was but ordinary; for he had read little more than ſome of St. *Auſtin*'s Treatiſes, and the Canon Law, and the Maſter of the Sentences, beyond whom, his Quotations do ſeldom go. His Stile was Natural and Pleaſant; and he could turn things very dextrouſly to make them look well or ill as it ſerved his Purpoſe. But tho' he ſuffered for denying the King's Supremacy, yet he was at firſt no Zealot for the Pope: For he ſays of himſelf, "That when the "King ſhewed him his Book in Manuſcript, "which he wrote againſt *Luther*, he adviſed "him to leave out that which he had put in it "concerning the Pope's Power, for he did not "know what Quarrels he might have afterwards "with the Popes, and then that would be turned "againſt him. But the King was perhaps fond

of

of what he had written, and ſo he would not follow that wiſe Advice which he gave him. Book. I.

There were no Executions after this, till the Rebellions of *Lincolnſhire* and *Yorkſhire* gave new Occaſions to Severity; and then not only the Lords of *Darcy* and *Huſſy*, but ſix Abbots, and many Gentlemen, the chief of whom was, Sir *Thomas Peircy* (Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*) were attainted. They had not only been in the Rebellion, but had forfeited the General Pardon, by their new Attempts, after it was proclaimed: Yet ſome ſaid, the King took advantage on very ſlight Grounds to break his Indemnity. But on the other hand, it was no wonder if he proceeded with the utmoſt Rigour againſt thoſe who had raiſed ſuch a Storm in the Kingdom, and in particular againſt thoſe Abbots and Monks who had Sworn to maintain his Supremacy, and yet were the chief Incendiaries that had ſet the Kingdom on fire. 1537. Attainders after the Rebellion.

One *Forreſt* an Obſervant Frier, had been Queen *Katherine*'s Confeſſor, but forſook her Intereſt; and not only ſwore to the King's Supremacy, but uſed ſuch Inſinuations, that he had a large ſhare of the King's Favour and Confidence. He was look'd on as a Reproach to his Order, and uſed great Cruelties in their Houſe at *Greenwich*. He ſhut up one that he believed gave Intelligence of all they did to the Court; and uſed him ſo ill, that he died in their Hands. It was alſo found, that in ſecret Confeſſion, he had alienated many from the King's Supremacy; and being queſtioned for it, he ſaid, *he had taken the Oath for it with his outward Man, but his inward Man had never conſented to it.* But he offered to recant and abjure this Opinion; yet being afterwards diverted from that, he was condemned *Forreſt* was burnt.

Book I. demned as an Heretick, and was burnt in *Smithfield*. A Pardon was offered him at the Stake if
1537. he would recant; but he refuſed it. A great Image that was brought out of *Wales*, was hewed in pieces, and ſerved for Fewel to burn him. The Writers of that time ſay, he denied the Goſpel, and that he had little Knowledge of God in his Life, and ſhewed leſs Truſt in him at his Death.

1538. The Attainders of Cardinal Pool's Friends.

The Winter after this, a Correſpondence was diſcovered between Cardinal *Pool* and *Courtney*, Marqueſs of *Exeter*, and *Pool*'s Brother the Lord *Montacute*, and ſeveral others. It was believed, that Sir *Geofrey Pool*, another of the Brothers betrayed the reſt. They had expreſſed ſome Kindneſs for the Cardinal and his Proceedings; and had ſaid, that they looked to ſee a Change in *England*; and that they hoped the King would die e're long, and then all would go well; with ſeveral other Words to that purpoſe, for which they were Attainted, and Executed. Others were alſo condemned for calling the King a *Beaſt, and worſe than a Beaſt*; and that he would be certainly damned for plucking down the Abbies. Cardinal *Pool*, and ſeveral others, that had fled out of the Kingdom, and had Confederated themſelves with the Pope againſt the King, were alſo Attainted. Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Maſter of the Horſe, and Knight of the Garter, was likewiſe condemned for having ſaid, that the Attainder of the Marqueſs of *Exeter was cruel and unjuſt*. He renounced the Superſtitions of Popery, and embraced the Reformation before he ſuffered.

1539. Attainders in Parliament without hearing the Parties.

After theſe Judgments and Executions were over, a new and unheard of Precedent was made, of Attainting ſome without bringing them to make

make their anſwers, which is a Blemiſh on this Reign, that can never be waſhed off, and was a Breach of the moſt Sacred and Unalterable Rules of Juſtice. The firſt that were ſo Condemned were the Marchioneſs of *Exeter* and the the Counteſs of *Sarum*, Mother to Cardinal *Pool*. The ſpecial Matter charged on the former, was, her Confederating her ſelf with Sir *Nicholas Carew*; and that againſt the other, was, her Confederating with her Son, Cardinal *Pool*. No Witneſſes were examined to prove theſe things againſt them; perhaps ſome Depoſitions might have been read in Parliament. *Cromwell* ſhewed a Coat which was found among the Counteſs of *Sarum*'s Cloaths, on which the Standard uſed by the *Yorkſhire* Rebels was wrought; from which it was inferred, that ſhe approved of them. Fourteen others were Attainted by the ſame Act: Six of them were Prieſts, one was a Knight Hoſpitaller, four were Gentlemen, one was a Merchant, and two were Yeomen; all were Condemned for Confederating with the Pope or Cardinal *Pool*; or aſſerting the Pope's Supremacy; or endeavouring to raiſe Rebellion: But againſt four of them, there is nothing but Treaſon in General Words alledged. This Bill was paſt in two Days by the Lords, and in five by the Commons: But of all theſe, only three were Executed, theſe were the Counteſs of *Sarum*, tho' not till two Years after this; and Sir *Adrian Forteſcue*, and *Dingley*, the Knight of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*. In the Counteſs of *Sarum* did the Name of *Plantagenet* end. She was about 70 Years old, but ſhewed that in that Age ſhe had a Vigorous and Maſculine Mind. Book I. 1539.

In the Parliament that ſate in the Year 1540, ſeveral others were Attainted in the ſame manner,

Book I. ner without being heard, and for the same Crimes. *Fetherston*, *Abel*, and *Powel*, and Six more were
1539. so condemned; but those three only suffered. By another Act of the same Parliament, the Lord *Hungerford*, and his Chaplain *Bird*, were Attainted: His Chaplain had often perswaded him to rebel; and had said, that the King was the greatest Heretick in the World. *Hungerford* had also ordered some of his other Chaplains to use Conjuring, that they might know how long the King would live, and whether he would be Victorious over his Enemies. He was also charged for having lived in Sodomy with several of his Servants three Years together. He was soon after Executed, and died in great Disorder.

In the Year 1541, Five Priests, and Ten Laymen were stirring up the People in the *North* to a new Rebellion; but it was prevented, and they suffered for it. In the Year 1543, *Gardiner* that was the Bishop of *Winchester*'s Secretary, and three other Priests, were Condemned, and Executed for denying the King's Supremacy: And this was the last Occasion that was given to the King to shew his Severity on that account. In all these Executions it cannot be denied but the Laws were excessively severe, and the Proceedings upon them were never tempered with that mildness which ought to be often applied for the mitigating the rigour of Penal Laws: But tho' they are much aggravated by Popish Writers, they were far short of the Cruelties used in Queen *Mary*'s Reign.

To conclude, We have now gone through the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, who is rather to be reckoned among the Great than the Good Princes. He exercised so much Severity

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on Men of both Perſuaſions, that the Writers of both Sides have laid open his Faults, and taxed his Cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him; ſo none have taken ſo much care to ſet forth his good Qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbred among the *ill* Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the *worſt*. Book I. 1539.

OF

BOOK II.

OF THE LIFE and REIGN OF King EDWARD VI.

1547. King *Edward's* Birth and Education.

EDWARD was the only Son of King *Henry*, by his beſt beloved Wife *Jane Seimour*, born the Twelfth of *October*, 1537. His Mother died the day after he was born, of a Diſtemper incident to Women in her condition, and was not ripped up by Chirurgeons, as ſome Writers have reported, on deſign to repreſent King *Henry* as barbarous and cruel to all his Wives. At ſix Years of Age he was put into the hands of Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*; the one was to form his Mind, and to teach him Philoſophy and Divinity, the other was to teach him the Tongues and Mathematicks: Other Maſters were alſo appointed for the other parts of his Education. He diſcovered very early a good diſpoſition to Religion and Vertue, and a particular Reverence for the Scriptures: for he took it very ill when one about him laid a great Bible on the Floor, to ſtep up on it to ſomewhat which was out of his reach, without ſuch an advantage. He profited well in Letters

Book II. Letters, and wrote at eight Years old Latin Letters frequently both to the King, to Q. *Katherine Parre*, to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Uncle the Earl of *Hartford*, who had been firſt made Viſcount *Beauchamp*, being the Heir by his Mother of that Family, and was after that advanced to be an Earl.

1547.

In the end of his Father's life, it had been deſigned to Create him Prince of *Wales*: for that was one of the Reaſons given to haſten the Attainder of the D. of *Norfolk*, becauſe he held ſome Places during Life, which the King intended to put in other Hands, in order to that Ceremony. Upon his Father's Death, the E. of *Hartford* and Sir *Anthony Brown* were ſent to bring him up to the Tower of *London*: and when King *Henry*'s Death was publiſhed, he was proclaimed King.

K. *Henry*'s Teſtament.

At his coming to the Tower, his Father's Will was opened, by which it was found that he had named 16 to be the Governors of the Kingdom, and of his Son's Perſon till he ſhould be eighteen Years of Age. Theſe were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Wriotheſly* Lord Chancellor, Lord *St. John* Great Maſter, Lord *Ruſſel* Lord Privy Seal, Earl of *Hartford* Lord Great Chamberlain, Viſc. *Liſle* Lord Admiral, *Tonſtall* Bp. of *Dureſme*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *Will. Paget* Secretary of State, Sir *Ed. North* Chancellor of the Augmentations, Sir *Edward Montague* Ld. Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, Judg *Bromley*, Sir *Anthony Denny* and Sir *Will. Herbert* Chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, Sir *Edw. Wotton* Treaſurer of *Callis*, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. They were alſo to give the King's Siſters in Marriage; and if they married without their conſent, they were to forfeit their Right of Succeſſion: for the King was impowered,

powered, by Act of Parliament, to leave the Crown to them with what Limitations he ſhould think fit to appoint. There was alſo a Privy Council named to be their Aſſiſtants in the Government; if any of the ſixteen died, the Survivers were to continue in the Adminiſtration, without a Power to ſubſtitute others in their rooms who ſhould die. It was now propoſed that one ſhould be choſen out of the ſixteen to whom Ambaſſadors ſhould addreſs themſelves, and who ſhould have the chief direction of Affairs; but ſhould be reſtrained to do nothing but by the conſent of the greater part of the other Co-executors. The Chancellor, who thought the Precedence fell to him by his Office, ſince the Archbiſhop did not meddle much in ſecular Affairs, oppoſed this much, and ſaid, It was a Change of the King's Will; who had made them all equal in Power and Dignity; and if any were raiſed above the reſt in Title, it would not be poſſible to keep him within due Bounds, ſince great Titles make way for High Power; but the Earl of *Hartford* had ſo prepared his Friends, that it was carried that he ſhould be declared the Governour of the King's Perſon, and the Protector of the Kingdom, with this Reſtriction, that he ſhould do nothing but by the Advice and Conſent of the reſt. Upon this Advancement, and the oppoſition made to it, two Parties were formed, the one headed by the Protector, and the other by the Chancellor: the favourers of the Reformation were of the former, and thoſe that oppoſed it were of the latter. The Chancellor was ordered to renew the Commiſſions of the Judges and Juſtices of Peace, and King *Henry*'s Great Seal was to be made uſe of, till a new one ſhould be made. The day after this, all the Executors took their Oaths to execute their Truſt faithfully, the Privy

Book II. 1547.

A Protector choſen.

Book II. 1547. Councellours were also brought into the King's Presence, who did all express their satisfaction in the choice that was made of the Protector: and it was ordered that all Dispatches to Foreign Princes should be signed only by him. All that held Offices were required to come and renew their Commissions, and to swear Allegiance to the King: among the rest, the Bishops came and took out such Commissions as were granted in the former Reign, only by those they were subaltern to the King's Vicegerent, but there being none now in that Office, they were immediately subaltern to the King; and by them they were to hold their Bishopricks only during the King's Pleasure, and were impowered in the King's Name, as his Delegates, to perform all the parts of the Episcopal Function. *Cranmer* set an Example to the rest in taking out one of those. It was thought fit thus to keep the Bishops under the terror of such an Arbitrary Power lodged in the King, that so it might be more easy to turn them out, if they should much oppose what might be done in Points of Religion: but the ill Consequences of such an unlimited Power being well foreseen, the Bishops that were afterwards promoted, were not so fettered, but were provided to hold their Bishopricks during Life.

Bishops take out Commissions.

A Creation of Noblemen.

The late King had in his Will required his Executors to perform all the Promises he had made: So *Paget* was required to give an account of the Promises the late King had made; and he declared upon Oath, that upon the Prospect of the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the King intended a Creation of Peers, and to divide his Lands among them; the Persons to be raised, were, *Hartford* to be a Duke, *Essex* a Marquess, *Lisle*, *Russel*, *St. John*, and *Wriothe-*

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ſly to be Earls, Sir *Thomas Seimour*, *Cheyney*, *Rich*, *Willoughby*, *Arundel*, *Sheffield*, *St. Leger*, *Wymbiſh*, *Vernon*, and *Danby* to be Barons, and a diviſion was to be made of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Eſtate among them: Some ſhares were alſo ſet off for others, who were not to be advanced in Title, as *Denny* and *Herbert*: And they finding *Paget* had been mindful of *them*, but had not mentioned *himſelf*, had moved the King for a ſhare to *him*. The King appointed *Paget* to give notice of this to the Perſons named; but many excuſed themſelves, and deſired no addition of Honour, ſince the Lands which the King intended to give them were not ſufficient to ſupport that Dignity. The Duke of *Norfolk* prevented all this, for being apprehenſive of the ruin of his Family, if his Eſtate were once divided, he ſent a Meſſage to the King, deſiring him to convert it all to be a Revenue to the Prince of *Wales*. This wrought ſo much on the King, that he reſolved to reward thoſe he intended to raiſe another way, and he appointed that Eſtate to be kept entire; and the King's Diſtemper increaſing on him, he at laſt came to a Reſolution. That the Earl of *Hartford* ſhould be made a Duke, and be made both Earl Marſhal and Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Eſſex* a Marqueſs, *Liſle* and *Wriotheſly* Earls, and *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Sheiffield*, *St. Leger*, *Willoughby* and *Danby* Barons, with Revenues in Lands to every one of them: And the Earl of *Hartford* was to have the firſt good Deanry and Treaſurerſhip, and the four beſt Prebends that ſhould fall in any Cathedral. But though the King had reſolved on this, and had ordered *Paget* to propoſe it to the Perſons concerned, yet his Diſeaſe increaſed ſo faſt on him, that he never finiſhed it: And there-

Book II. 1547.

Book II. fore he ordered his Executors to perform all that ſhould appear to have been promiſed by him.

1547. The greateſt part of this was alſo confirmed by *Denny* and *Herbert*, to whom the King had talked of it, and had ſhewed the Deſign of it in Writing, as it had been agreed between *Paget* and him. So the Executors being concerned in this themſelves, it may be eaſily ſuppoſed that they determined to execute this part of their Truſt very faithfully. Yet the King being then like to be engaged in Wars, they reſolved neither to leſſen his Treaſure nor Revenue, but to find another way for giving the Rewards intended by the King, which was afterwards done by the ſale and diſtribution of the Chantry-Lands.

The Caſtle of St. *Andrews* was then much preſſed; ſo they ſent down by *Balnaves*, the Agent of that Party, *Eleven hundred and eighty Pounds* for the Pay of the Garriſon; they gave alſo Penſions to the chief ſupporters of their Intereſt in *Scotland*, to ſome 250, to others 200 *l.* or leſs, according to their Intereſt in the Countrey. The King received the Ceremony of Knighthood from the Protector, and Knighted the Mayor of *London* the ſame Day.

Lay-men had Eccleſiaſtical Dignities.

The Grant of ſo many Eccleſiaſtical Dignities to the Earl of *Hartford*, was no extraordinary thing at that Time, for as *Cromwell* had been Dean of *Wells*, ſo divers other Lay-men were provided to them; which was thus excuſed, becauſe there was no Cure of Souls belonging to them; and during Vacancies, even in Times of Popery, the Kings had by their own Authority, by the Right of the *Regale*, given Inſtitution to them, ſo that they ſeemed to be no Spiritual Imployments, and the Eccleſiaſticks that had enjoyed them, had been a Lazy and Senſual ſort of Men,

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ſo that their abuſing thoſe Revenues, either to Luxury, or to the Enriching their Kindred by the Spoils of the Church, had this effect, that the putting them in Lay-hands gave no great Scandal; and that the rather, becauſe a ſimple Tonſure qualified a Man for them by the Canons. Theſe Foundations were at firſt deſined for Nurſeries to the Dioceſs, in which the young Clergy were to be Educated, or for a retreat to thoſe who were more Speculative, and not ſo fit for the Service of the Church in the Active parts of the Paſtoral Care; ſo it had been an excellent Deſign to have reformed them, and reſtored them to the purpoſes for which they were at firſt intended: And it was both againſt *Magna Charta*, and all Natural Equity, to take them out of the Hands of Church-men, and give them to thoſe of the Laity. But it was no wonder to ſee Men yet under the influence of the Canon-Law commit ſuch Errors. Book II. 1547.

At the ſame time an Accident fell out, that made way for great Changes; the Curate and Church-wardens of St. *Martins* in *London*, were brought before the Council for removing the Crucifix, and other Images, and putting ſome Texts of Scripture on the Walls of their Church, in the Places where they ſtood: They anſwered, That they going to repair their Church, removed their Images, and they being rotten, they did not renew them, but put places of Scripture in their room: They had alſo removed others, which they found had been abuſed to Idolatry. Great pains was taken by the Popiſh Party to puniſh them ſeverely, for ſtriking terrour into others, but *Cranmer* was for the removing of all Images which were ſet up in Churches, expreſly contrary both to the Second Commandment, and to Some take down Images.

Book II. the practice of the Christians for divers Ages: And though in compliance with the gross Abuses of Paganism, there was very early much of the Pomp of their Worship brought into the Christian Church, yet it was long before this crept in. At first all Images were condemned by the Fathers: then they allowed the use of them, but condemned the Worshipping of them; and afterwards in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries, the Worshipping of them was (after a long Contest, both in the East and West, in which there were, by turns, General Councils, that both approved and condemned them) at last generally received, and then the reverence for them, and for some in particular, that were believed to be more wonderfully enchanted, was much improved by the Cheats of the Monks, who had enriched themselves by such means: And it was grown to such a height, that Heathenism it self had been guilty of nothing more absurd towards its Idols; and the singular Vertues in some Images, shewed they were not Worshipped only as Representations, for then all should have equal degrees of Veneration paid to them. And since all these Abuses had risen meerly out of the bare use of them, and the setting them up being contrary to the Command of God, and the Nature of the Christian Religion, which is Simple and Spiritual; it seemed most reasonable to cure the Disease in its Root, and to clear the Church of Images, that so the People might be preserved from Idolatry. These Reasons prevailed so far, that the Curate and Wardens were dismissed with a Reprimand; they were required to beware of such rashness for the future, and to provide a Crucifix, and till that could be had, they were ordered to cause one to be painted on the

1547. Arguments for and against it.

the Wall. Upon this, Dr. *Ridley* being to preach before the King, inveighed againſt the Superſtition towards Images and Holy-Water, and there was a general diſpoſition over all the Nation to pull them down; which was ſoon after effected in *Portſmouth*. Upon that, *Gardiner* made great complaints, he ſaid, The *Lutherans* themſelves went not ſo far, for he had ſeen Images in their Churches; he argued from the King's Face on the Coyn and Great Seal for the uſe of Images, and that the Law of *Moſes* did no more bind in this Particular, than in that of abſtaining from Blood: He diſtinguiſhed between Image and Idol, as if the one, which he ſaid was only condemned, was the repreſentation of a Falſe God, and the other of the True; and he thought, that as Words conveyed by the Ear begat Devotion, ſo Images, by the conveyance of the Eye, might have the ſame effect on the Mind: He alſo thought, a Vertue might be both in them and in Holy-Water, as well as there was in *Chriſt*'s Garments, *Peter*'s Shadow, or *Eliſha*'s Staff. And there might be a Virtue in Holy-Water, as in the Water of Baptiſm. He alſo mentioned the Virtue that was in the Cramp-Rings, bleſſed by the late King, which he had known to be much eſteemed and ſought after, and he hoped their young King would not neglect that Gift. But to theſe things which *Gardiner* wrote in ſeveral Letters, the Protector, perhaps by *Cranmer*'s direction, wrote Anſwer, That the Biſhops had formerly argued much in another ſtrain, that becauſe the Scriptures were abuſed by the vulgar Readers, therefore they were not to be truſted to them; and ſo made a pretended abuſe, the ground of taking away that, which by God's ſpecial appointment was to be

Book II. 1535.

Book II. delivered to all Christians: This did hold much stronger against Images that were forbidden by
1547. God. The Brazen Serpent set up by *Moses*, by God's own Direction, was broken when abused to Idolatry; for that was the greatest Corruption of Religion possible: And the Civil respect payed to the King's Image on a Seal, or on the Coyn, did not justify the dotage upon Images. But yet the Protector acknowledged he had reason to complain of the forwardness of the People, that broke down Images without Authority. This was the first step that was made in this Reign, towards a Reformation, of which the Sequel shall appear afterwards. Orders were sent to the Justices of the Peace, to look well to the Peace and Government of the Nation, to meet often, and every six Weeks to advertise the Protector of the State of the County to which they belonged.

The King's Funeral. The Funerals of the deceased King were performed with the ordinary Ceremonies at *Windsor*: One thing gave those that hated him some Advantages; His Body was carried the first Day to *Sheen*, which had been a Nunnery, and there some of the Moisture and Fat dropt through the Coffin; and to make it a compleat accomplishment of *Peyto*'s Denunciation, that *Dogs should lick his Blood*, it was said the Dogs next Day licked it. This in a Corpulent Man was so far from a Wonder, that it had been a Wonder if it had been otherwise, and was a certain sign of nothing but the Plummer's carelessness, and their weakness and malice that made such Inferences from it. The King left *Six hundred Pounds a Year* to the Church of *Windsor*, for Priests to say Mass for his Soul every Day, and for four Obits a Year, and Sermons, and distribution of Alms at every one of them, and for a Sermon every

Sunday,

Sunday, and a maintenance for thirteen poor Knight's, which was ſetled upon that Church by his Executors in due form of Law. Book II. 1547.

The Pomp of this Endowment now in a more Inquiſitive Age led People to examine the uſefulneſs of Soul-Maſſes and Obits. Chriſt appointed the Sacrament for a Commemoration of his Death among the living, but it was not eaſy to conceive how that was to be applied to departed Souls. For all the good that they could receive, ſeemed only applicable to the Prayers for them; but bare Prayers would not have wrought ſo much on the People, nor would they have payed ſo dear for them. It was a clear Project for drawing in the Wealth of the World into their Hands. In the Primitive Church there was a Commemoration of the Dead, or an Honourable Remembrance of them made in the daily Offices, and for ſome very ſmall Faults their Names were not mentioned, which would not have been done if they had looked upon that as a thing that was really a relief to them in another State. But even this Cuſtom grew to be abuſed, and ſome inferred from it, that departed Souls, unleſs they were ſignally pure, paſſed through a Purgation in the next Life, before they were admitted to Heaven; of which S. *Auſtin*, in whoſe time the Opinion was beginning to be received, ſays, that it was taken up without any ſure ground in Scripture. But what was wanting in Scripture-proof, was ſupplied by Viſions, Dreams, and Tales, till it was generally received. King *Henry* had acted like one that did not much believe it, for he was to expect no good uſage in Purgatory, from thoſe Souls whom he had deprived of the Maſſes that were ſaid for them in Monaſteries, by deſtroying thoſe Foundations. Soul-Maſſes examined.

Yet

Book II. Yet it ſeems he intended to make ſure work for himſelf, ſo that if Maſſes could avail the departed
1547. Souls, he reſolved to have his ſhare of it; and as he gratified the Prieſts by this part of his Endowment, ſo he pleaſed the People by appointing Sermons and Alms to be given on ſuch Days. Thus he died as he had lived, ſwimming between both Perſwaſions. And it occaſioned no ſmall Debate, when Men ſought to find out what his Opinions were in the controverted Points of Religion: For the eſteem he was in, made both ſides ſtudy to juſtify themſelves, by ſeeming to follow his Sentiments; the one Party ſaid, He was reſolved never to alter Religion, but only to cut off ſome Abuſes, and intended to go no further than he had gone: They did therefore vehemently preſs the others to innovate nothing, but to keep things in the ſtate in which he left them, till his Son ſhould come of Age: But the oppoſite Party ſaid, that he had reſolved to go a great way further, and particularly to turn the Maſs to a Communion; and therefore Religion being of ſuch conſequence to the Salvation of Souls, it was neceſſary to make all the haſte in Reformation that was fitting and decent. But now the Diverſions of the Coronation took them off from more ſerious Thoughts: The Protector was made Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Eſſex* Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lords *Liſle* and *Wriotheſly* Earls of *Warwick* and *Southampton*, *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Willoughby* and *Sheffield*, were made Barons. In order to the King's Coronation, the Office for that Ceremony was reviewed, and much ſhortned: One remarkable Alteration was, that formerly the King uſed to be preſented to the People at the Corners of the Scaffold, and they were asked, If they would have him to be their King? Which looked only

The Coronation.

only like a Rite of an Election, rather than a Ceremony of Inveſting one that was already King. This was now changed, and the People were deſired only to give their Aſſents and Good-will to his Coronation, As by the Duty of Allegiance they were bound to do. On the Twentieth of *February* he was Crowned, and a General Pardon was proclaimed, out of which the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, and ſome others were excepted. Book II. 1547.

The Chancellour, who was look'd on as the Head of the Popiſh Party, gave now an advantage againſt himſelf, which was very readily laid hold on. He granted a Commiſſion to the Maſter of the Rolls, and three Maſters of Chancery, of whom two were Civilians, to execute his Office in the Court of Chancery, as if he were preſent; only their Decrees were to be brought to him to be ſigned, before they ſhould be Inrolled. This being done without any authority from the Protector, and the other Executors, was thought a high Preſumption, ſince he did thereby devolve on others that Truſt which was depoſited in his Hands. Upon this, ſome Lawyers complained to the Protector, and they ſeemed alſo apprehenſive of a Deſign to change the Common Laws, which was occaſioned by the Decrees made by the Civilians, that were more ſuited to the Imperial, than to the *Engliſh* Laws. The Judges being deſired to give their Opinions, made report, That what the Chancellour had done was againſt Law, and that he had forfeited his Place, and might be impriſoned for it during pleaſure. But he carried it high, he threatned both the Judges and Lawyers; and when it was urged that he had forfeited his Place, he ſaid, he had it from the late King, who had likewiſe named him one of the Executors, during his Son's Minority

The Chancellour turned out.

Book II. 1547. nority. But it was answered, That the Major part had Power over any of the rest, otherwise one of them might rebel, and pretend he could not be punished by the rest. He being driven out of that, was more humble, and acknowledged he had no Warrant for granting the Commission, he thought by his Office he might lawfully do it; he asked Pardon for his Offence, and desired he might lose his Place with as little disgrace as was possible; and then it was resolved on by the rest to take the Seal from him, and to Fine him as they should afterwards think fit. So he being suffered to go home with the Seal, the Lord *Seimour*, and some others were sent to demand it of him: He was also confined to his House, and kept under the Terrour of an Arbitrary Fine. But upon giving a Bond of *Four thousand Pounds* to be payed upon demand, he was freed from his Confinement: Yet he was not put out of the Trust of the King and the Government, for it seems the Council did not look on that as a thing that was in their Power to do.

March Protector's Patent, Soon after this, the Protector took a Patent for his Office under the Great Seal, then in the keeping of the Lord St. *John*; by which he was confirmed in his Authority, till the King should be eighteen Years of Age; he was also authoriz'd to bring in new Councellours, besides those enumerated in the Patent, who are both the Executors and the Councellors nominated by the late King: The Protector, with so many of the Council as he thought meet, were impowered to administer the Affairs of the Kingdom; but the Council was limited to do nothing without his Advice and Consent. And thus was he now as well established in his Authority as Law could make him. He had a Negative on the Council, but they

they had none on him; and he could either bring his own Creatures into it, or ſelect a Cabinet Council out of it as he pleaſed: And the other Executors having now delivered up their Authority to him, were only Privy Councellors as the reſt were, without retaining any ſingular Authority peculiar to them, as was provided by King *Henry*'s Will. Book II. 1547.

The firſt buſineſs of Conſequence that required great Conſideration, was the *Smalcaldick* War, then begun between the Emperor and the Princes of that League; the Effects of which, if the Emperor prevailed, were like to be, not only the extirpating of *Lutheraniſm*, but his being the abſolute Maſter of *Germany*; which the Emperor chiefly deſigned in order, to an Univerſal Monarchy, but diſguiſed it to other Princes: To the *Pope*, he pretended that his Deſign was only to extirpate Hereſy; to other Princes, he pretended it was only to repreſs ſome Rebels, and denied all deſign of ſuppreſſing their new Doctrines, which he managed ſo Artificially, that he divided *Germany* it ſelf, and got ſome *Lutheran* Princes to declare for him, and others to be Neutrals: And having obtained a very liberal Supply for his Wars with *France* and the *Turk*, for which he granted an Edict for Liberty of Religion, he made Peace with both thoſe Princes, and reſolved to imploy that Treaſure which the *Germans* had given him, againſt themſelves. That he might deprive them of their chief Allies, he uſed means to engage King *Henry*, and *Francis* the Firſt in a War; but that was chiefly by their Interpoſition, compoſed. And now when the War was like to be carried on with great Vigour, they loſt both thoſe Princes; for as *Henry* died in *January*, ſo *Francis* followed him into another World, in *March*, The Affairs of *Germany*.

Book II. 1754. *March*, following. Many of their Confederates began to Capitulate and forſake them; and the divided Command of the Duke of *Saxe*, and the Landgrave of *Heſſe* loſt them great Advantages, the former Year; in which it had been eaſy to have driven the Emperor out of *Germany*: But it fell often out, that when one was for Engaging, the other was againſt it; which made many very doubtful of their Succeſs. The *Pope* had a mind to engage the Emperor in a War in *Germany*, that ſo *Italy* might be at quiet: and in order to that, and to Imbroil the Emperor with all the *Lutherans*, he publiſhed his Treaty with him, that ſo it might appear that the Deſign of the War was to extirpate Hereſy; though the Emperor was making great Proteſtations to the contrary in *Germany*. He alſo opened the Council of *Trent*, which the Emperor had long deſired in vain; but it was now brought upon him, when he leaſt wiſhed for it: for the Proteſtants did all declare, that they could not look upon it as a free General Council, ſince it was ſo entirely at the *Pope*'s Devotion, that not ſo much as a Reformation of ſome of the groſſeſt Abuſes that could not be juſtified, was like to be obtained, unleſs clogged with ſuch Clauſes as made it ineffectual. Nor could the Emperor prevail with the Council, not to proceed to eſtabliſh the Doctrine, and condemn Hereſy; but the more he obſtructed that by delays, the more did the *Pope* drive it on, to open the Eyes of the *Germans*, and engage them all vigorouſly againſt the Emperor: yet he gave them ſuch ſecret Aſſurances of tolerating the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, that the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* declared for him, and that, joyned with the hopes of the *Electorate*, drew in *Maurice* of *Saxe*. The Count *Palatine* was old and feeble,

The Council of *Trent*.

feeble, the Archbishop of *Colen* would not make resistance, but retired, being condemned by the *Pope* and Emperor, and many of the Cities submitted. And *Maurice* by falling into *Saxe*, forced the Elector to separate from the Landgrave, and return to the Defence of his own Dominions. This was the state of the Affairs in *Germany*: So it was a hard Point to resolve on, what answer the Protector should give the Duke of *Saxe*'s Chancellour, whom he sent over to obtain an Aid in Money, for carrying on the War. It was, on the one hand of great importance to the safety of *England* to preserve the *German* Princes, and yet it was very dangerous to begin a War of such Consequence under an Infant King. At present they promised, within three Months, to send by the Merchants of the *Still-yard Fifty thousand Crowns* to *Hamburgh*, and resolved to do no more till new Emergents should lead them to new Councils. Book II. 1547.

The Nation was in an ill condition for a War, with such a mighty Prince, labouring under great Distractions at Home; the People generlaly cried out for a Reformation, they despised the Clergy, and loved the new Preachers. The Priests were for the most part both very ignorant and scandalous in their Lives: many of them had been Monks, and those that were to pay them the Pensions, that were reserved to them at the destruction of the Monasteries, till they should be provided, took care to get them into some small Benefice. The greatest part of the Parsonages were Impropriated, for they belonged to the Monasteries, and the Abbots had only granted the Incumbents, either the Vicarage, or some small Donative, and left them the Perquisites raised by Masses and other Offices. At the sup- Divisions in *England*.

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Book II. preſſion of thoſe Houſes there was no care taken to provide the Incumbents better; ſo they
1547. chiefly ſubſiſted by Trentals and other Devices, that brought them in ſome ſmall Relief, tho' the price of them was ſcandalouſly low, for Maſſes went often at Two Pence, a Groat was a great bounty. Now theſe ſaw that a Reformation of thoſe Abuſes, took the Bread out of their Mouths: So their Intereſts prevailing more with them than any thing elſe, they were zealouſly engaged againſt all Changes: But that ſame Principle made them comply with every Change that was made, rather than loſe their Benefices: Their Poverty made them run into another Abuſe, of holding more Benefices at the ſame time, a Corruption of ſo crying and ſcandalous a Nature, that wherever it is practiſed, it is ſufficient to poſſeſs the People with great Prejudices againſt the Church that is guilty of it: There being nothing more contrary to the plaineſt Impreſſions of Reaſon, than that every Man, who undertakes a Cure of Souls, whom at his Ordination he has vowed, that he would Inſtruct, Feed and Govern, ought to diſcharge that Truſt himſelf, which is the greateſt and moſt important of all others. The Clergy were incouraged in their Oppoſition to all Changes, by the protection they expected from *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and *Tonſtall*, who were Men of great Reputation, as well as ſet in high Places: And above all, Lady *Mary* did openly declare againſt all Changes, till the King ſhould be of Age. But on the other hand, *Cranmer*, whoſe greateſt weakneſs was his over Obſequiouſneſs to King *Henry*, being now at liberty, reſolved to proceed more vigorouſly: The Protector was firmly united to him, ſo were the young King's Tutors, and he

was

was as much engaged, as could be expected from so young a Person: For both his Knowledge and Zeal for True Religion were above his Age. Several of the Bishops did also declare for a Reformation, but Dr. *Ridley* now made Bishop of *Rochester*, was the Person on whom he depended most. *Latimer* was kept by him at *Lambeth*, and did great Service by his Sermons, which were very popular; but he would not return to his Bishoprick, chusing rather to serve the Church in a more disengaged manner. Many of the Bishops were very ignorant, and poor-spirited Men, raised meerly by Court-favour, who were little concerned for any thing but their Revenues. *Cranmer* resolved to proceed by degrees, and to open the Reasons of every Advance, that was made so fully, that he hoped, by the blessing of God, to possess the Nation of the fitness of what they should do, and thereby to prevent any dangerous opposition, that might otherwise be apprehended. Book II. 1547.

The Power of the Privy-Council had been much exalted in King *Henry*'s Time, by Act of Parliament; and one Proviso in it was, that the King's Council should have the same Authority when he was under Age, that he himself had at full Age: So it was resolved to begin with a General Visitation of all *England*, which was divided into six Precincts: And two Gentlemen, a Civillian, a Divine, and a Register were appointed for every one of these. But before they were sent out, there was a Letter written to all the Bishops, giving them notice of it, suspending their Jurisdiction while it lasted, and requiring them to preach no where but in their Cathedrals, and that the other Clergy should not preach but in their own Churches, without Licence: By which it was intended to restrain such as were not acceptable, to their own

A Visitation of all the Churches.

May.

Book II. Pariſhes, and to grant the others Licences to Preach in any Church of *England*. The greateſt
1547. difficulty that the Reformers found, was in the want of able and prudent Men, the moſt Zealous were too hot and indiſcreet, and the few they had that were Eminent, were to be imployed in *London*, and the Univerſities. Therefore they intended to make thoſe as common as was poſſible, and appointed them to preach as Itenerants and Viſitors. The only thing by which the People could be univerſally Inſtructed, was a Book of Homilies: So the twelve firſt Homilies in the Book, ſtill known by that Name, were compiled; in framing which the chief Deſign was to acquaint the People a-right with the Nature of the Goſpel-Covenant, in which there were two Extreams equally dangerous: The one was of thoſe who thought the Prieſts had an infallible Secret of ſaving their Souls, if they would in all things follow their Directions; the other was of thoſe who thought that if they magnified Chriſt much, and depended on his Merits, they could not periſh, which way ſoever they led their Lives. So the mean between theſe was obſerved, and the People were taught both to depend on the Sufferings of Chriſt, and alſo to lead their Lives according to the Rules of the Goſpel, without which they could receive no Benefit by his Death. Order was alſo given, that a Bible ſhould be in every Church, which though it was commanded by King *Henry*, yet had not been generally obeyed: And for underſtanding the New Teſtament, *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe was put out in *Engliſh*, and appointed to be ſet up in every Church. His great Reputation and Learning, and his dying in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, made this Book to be preferred to any other, ſince there lay

no

no prejudice to *Eraſmus*, which would have been objected to any other Author. They renewed alſo all the Injunctions made by *Cromwel* in the former Reign, which after his Fall were but little looked after, as thoſe for inſtructing the People, for removing Images, and putting down all other Cuſtoms abuſed to Superſtition; for reading the Scriptures, and ſaying the Litany in *Engliſh*, for frequent Sermons and Catechiſing, for the Exemplary Lives of the Clergy, and their Labours in viſiting the Sick, and the other parts of their Function, ſuch as reconciling Differences, and exhorting their People to Charities: And all who gave Livings by Simoniacal Bargains, were declared to have forfeited their right of Patronage to the King. A great charge was alſo given for the ſtrict obſervation of the Lord's Day, which was appointed to be ſpent wholly in the Service of GOD, it not being enough to hear Maſs or Mattins in the Morning, and ſpend the reſt of the Day in Drunkenneſs and Quarrelling, as was commonly practiſed; but it ought to be all imployed, either in the Duties of Religion, or in Acts of Charity, only in time of Harveſt they were allowed to work on that and other Feſtival Days. Direction was alſo given, for the bidding of Prayers, in which the King, as Supream Head, the Queen, and the King's Siſters, the Protector and Council, and all the Orders of the Kingdom were to be mentioned; they were alſo to pray for departed Souls, that at the laſt Day, *we with them might reſt both Body and Soul.* There were alſo Injunctions given for the Biſhops, that they ſhould preach four times a Year in their Dioceſſes, once in their Cathedral, and thrice in any ther Church, unleſs they had a good excuſe to the contrary: That their Chaplains ſhould preach often:

Book II. 1547.

Book II. often: And that they ſhould give Orders to none, but thoſe that were duly qualified.

1547. Cenſures on the Injunctions.

Theſe were variouſly cenſured: The Clergy were only impowered to remove the abuſed Images, and the People were reſtrained from doing it; but this Authority being put in their Hands, it was thought they would be ſlow and backward in it. It had been happy for this Church, if all had agreed ſince that time, to preſs the Religious obſervation of the Lord's Day, without ſtarting needleſs Queſtions about the Morality of it, and the Obligation of the fourth Commandment; which has occaſioned much Diſpute and Heat: And when one Party raiſed the Obligation of that Duty to a pitch that was not practicable, it provoked others to ſlacken it too much: And this produced many ſharp Reflections on both ſides, and has concluded in too common a neglect of that Day, which inſtead of being ſo great a Bond and Inſtrument of Religion, as it ought to be, is become generally a Day of Idleneſs and Looſneſs. The Corruptions of Lay-Patrons and Simoniacal-Prieſts, have been often complained of, but no Laws nor Proviſions have ever been able to preſerve the Church from this great Miſchief; which can never be removed till Patrons look on their Right to nominate one to the charge of Souls, as a Truſt for which they are to render a ſevere Account to God; and till Prieſts are cured of their aſpiring to that Charge, and look on it with Dread and great Caution. The bidding of Prayers had been the Cuſtom in time of Popery; for the Preacher after he had named his Text, and ſhewed what was to be the method of his Sermon, deſired the People to joyn with him in a Prayer, for a bleſſing upon it; and told them likewiſe, whom they were to pray for, and

and then all the People ſaid their Beads in ſilence, and he kneeling down, ſaid his, and from that, this was called the bidding of the Beads. In this new Direction for them, Order was given to repeat always the King's Title of *Supream Head*, that ſo the People hearing it often mentioned, might grow better accuſtomed to it: but when inſtead of a bidding Prayer, an immediate one is come generally to be uſed, that enumeration of Titles ſeems not ſo decent a thing, nor is it now ſo neceſſary as it then was. The Prayer for departed Souls was now moderated, to be a Prayer only for the Conſummation of their Happineſs at the laſt Day; whereas in King *Henry*'s Time, they prayed that God would grant them the fruition of his Preſence, which implied a Purgatory. The Injunctions to the Biſhops, directing them to give Orders with great caution, pointed out that by which only a Church can be preſerved from Errors and Corruptions: For when Biſhops do eaſily, upon recommendations or emendicated Titles, confer Orders, as a ſort of Favour that is at their diſpoſal, the ill effects of that muſt be fatal to the Church; either by the Corruptions that thoſe vicious Prieſts will be guilty of, or by the Scandals which are given to ſome good Minds by their means, who are thereby diſguſted at the Church for their ſakes, and ſo are diſpoſed to be eaſily drawn into thoſe Societies that ſeparate from it. Book II. 1547.

The War with *Scotland* was now in conſultation; but the Protector being apprehenſive that *France* would engage in the Quarrel, ſent over Sir *Francis Brian* to congratulate with the new King, to deſire a confirmation of the laſt Peace, and to complain of the *Scots*, who had broken their Faith with the King, in the matter of the The War with *Scotland*.

Book II. Marriage of their Queen. The *French* King refu-
1547. ſed to confirm the Treaty, till ſome Articles ſhould be firſt explained, and ſo he diſowned his Father's Ambaſſador; and for the *Scots*, he ſaid he could not forſake them, if they were in diſtreſs. The *Engliſh* alledged that *Scotland* was ſubject to *England*; but the *French* had no regard to that, and would not ſo much as look on the Records that were offered to prove it; and ſaid they would take things as they found them, and not look back to a Diſpute of two hundred Years old. This made the *Engliſh* Council more fearful of engaging in a War, which by all appearance, would bring a War on them from *France*. The Caſtle of St. *Andrews* was ſurrendred, and all their Penſioners in *Scotland* were not able to do them great Service: the *Scots* were now much lifted up; for as *England* was under an Infant King, ſo the Court of *France* was governed by their Queen Dowagers Brothers. The *Scots* began to make inroads on *England*, and Deſcents on *Ireland*. Commiſſioners were ſent to the Borders to treat on both ſides; and the Protector raiſed a great Army, which he reſolved to command in Perſon. But the meeting on the Borders were ſoon broke up, for the *Scots* had no Inſtructions to treat concerning the Marriage, and the *Engliſh* were ordered to treat of nothing elſe, till that ſhould be firſt agreed to. And the Records that were ſhewed of the Homage done by the *Scottiſh* Kings to the *Engliſh* had no great effect; for the *Scots* either ſaid they were forged, or forced from ſome weak Princes, or were only Homages for their Lands in *England*, as the Kings of *England* did Homage to the Crown of *France*, for their Lands there. They alſo ſhewed their Records by which their Anceſtors had

had asserted that they were free and independent of *England*. The Protector left Commissions of Lieutenancy to some of the Nobility, and devolved his own Power, during his absence, on the Privy Council, and came to the Borders by the end of *August*. The *Scots* had abandoned the Passes, so that he found no difficulty in his March, and the small forts that were in his way, were surrendred upon Summons. When the *English* advanced to *Falsid*, the *Scots* engaged with them in Parties, but lost *Thirteen hundred* Men. The two Armies came in view; the *English* consisted of *Fifteen thousand* Foot and *three thousand* Horse, and a Fleet under the Command of the Lord *Clinton*, sailed along by them, as they marched near the Coasts; the *Scottish* Army consited of *thirty thousand*, and a good Train of Artillery. Book II. 1547. *August.*

The Protector sent a Message to the *Scots*, inviting them, by all the Arguments that could be invented to consent to the Marriage; and if that would not be granted, he desired Engagements from them, that their Queen should be contracted to no other Person, at least till she came of Age, and by the advice of the Estates, should choose a Husband for her self. This the Protector offered, to get out of the War upon Honourable Terms; but the *Scottish* Lords thought this great Condescension was an effect of fear, and believed the Protector was straitned for want of Provisions, so instead of publishing this Offer, they resolved to fall upon him next day: And so all the return that was made, was, That if the Protector would march back without any act of Hostility, they would not fall upon him. One went officiously with the Trumpeter, and challanged the Protector, in the Earl of *Huntley*'s

Book II. Name, to decide the Matter by their Valour; but the Protector ſaid he was to fight no way but
1547. at the Head of his Army: yet the Earl of *Warwick* accepted the challenge, but *Huntley* had given no order for it. On the tenth of *September* the Armies engaged. In the beginning of the Action, a ſhot from the Ships killed a whole Lane of Men, and diſordered the High-Landers, ſo that they could not be made to keep their Ranks. The Earl of *Angus* charged bravely, but was repulſed, and the *Engliſh* broke in with ſuch fury on the *Scots*, that they threw down their Arms, and fled. *Fourteen thouſand* were killed, *fifteen hundred* taken Priſoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley*, and five hundred Gentlemen. Upon this, the Protector went on and took *Leith*, and ſome Iſlands in the *Frith*, in which he put Gariſons, and left Ships to wait on them; he ſent ſome Ships to the Mouth of *Tay*, and took a Caſtle (*Broughty*) that commanded that River. If he had followed this Blow, and gone forward to *Striveling*, to which the Governour, with the ſmall remainders of his Army, had retired, and where the Queen was, it is probable in the Conſternation in which they were, he might have taken that Place, and ſo have made an end of the War. But the party his Brother was making at Court, gave him ſuch an Alarm, that he returned before he had ended his Buſineſs: And the *Scots* having ſent a Meſſage deſiring a Treaty, which they did only to gain Time, he ordered them to ſend their Commiſſioners to *Berwick*, and ſo marched back: He took in all the Caſtles in *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, and left Gariſons in them, and made the Gentry ſwear to be true to the King, and to promote the Marriage. He entred into *Scotch* ground the ſecond of *September*, and returned

The Battel of *Muſſelburgh*.

returned to *England* on the twenty ninth, with the loſs only of ſixty Men, and brought with him a great deal of Artillery, and many Priſoners: This Succeſs did raiſe his Reputation very high; and if he had now made an end of the War, it had, no doubt, eſtabliſhed him in his Authority. The *Scots* ſent no Commiſſioner to *Berwick*, but inſtead of that, they ſent ſome to *France*, to offer their Queen to the Dauphin, and to caſt themſelves on the Protection of that Crown; and ſo the Earl of *Warwick*, whom the Protector left to treat with them, returned back. The Protector, upon this great Succeſs, ſummoned a Parliament, to get himſelf eſtabliſhed in his Power. Book II. 1547.

The Viſitors had now ended the Viſitation, and all had ſubmitted to them, and great Inferences were made from this, that on the ſame Day on which the Images were burnt in *London*, their Army obtained that great Victory in *Scotland*. But all ſides are apt to build much on Providence, when it is favourable to them, and yet they will not allow the Argument when it turns againſt them. *Bonner* at firſt proteſted that he would obey the Injunctions, if they were not contrary to the Laws of God, and the Ordinances of the Church; but being called before the Council, he retracted that, and asked Pardon; yet, for giving terrour to others, he was for ſome time put in Priſon upon it. *Gardiner* wrote to one of the Viſitors, before they came to *Wincheſter*, that he could not receive the Homilies; and if he muſt either quit his Biſhoprick, or ſin againſt his Conſcience, he reſolved to chuſe the former: Upon this, he was called before the Council, and required to receive the Book of Homilies; but he excepted to one of them, that taught that Charity

The ſucceſs of the Viſitation.

Book II. 1547. Charity did not juſtify, contrary to the Book ſet out by the late King, confirmed in Parliament: He alſo complained of many things in *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe: And being preſſed to declare whether he would obey the Injunctions or not, he refuſed to promiſe it, and ſo was ſent to the Fleet. *Cranmer* treated in private with him, and they argued much about Juſtification. *Gardiner* thought the Sacraments juſtified, and that Charity juſtified as well as Faith. *Cranmer* thought that only the Merits of Chriſt juſtified as they were applied by Faith, which could not be without Charity; ſo the Queſtion turned much on a different way of explaining the ſame thing. *Gardiner* objected many things to *Eraſmus*'s Book, particularly to ſome Paſſages contrary to the Power of Princes; it was anſwered, That Book was not choſen, as having no Faults, but as the beſt they knew for clearing the Difficulties in Scripture. *Cranmer* offered to him, that if he would concur with them, he ſhould be brought to be one of the Privy-Council; but he did not comply in this ſo readily as he ordinarily did to ſuch Offers. Upon the Protector's return, he wrote to him, complaining of the Council's Proceedings in his abſence; and after he had given his Objections to the Injunctions, he excepted to this, that they were contrary to Law, and argued from many Precedents, that the King's Authority could not be raiſed ſo high; and that though *Cromwel* and others endeavoured to perſwade the late King, that he might govern as the *Roman* Emperors did, and that his Will ought to be his Law; yet he was of another Opinion, and thought it was much better to make the Law the King's Will. He complained alſo that he was hardly uſed, that he had neither Servants, Phyſicians

ſicians nor Chaplains, allowed to wait on him; and that though he had a Writ of Summons, he was not ſuffered to come to the Parliament, which he ſaid, might bring a Nullity on all their Proceedings. But he lay in Priſon till the Act of General Pardon, paſt in Parliament, ſet him at liberty. Many blamed the ſeverity of theſe Proceedings, as contrary to both Law and Equity, and ſaid, that all People, even thoſe who complained moſt of Arbitrary Power, were apt to uſurp it when they were in Authority: And ſome thought the delivering the Doctrine of Juſtification in ſuch nice Terms, was not ſuitable to the plain ſimplicity of the Chriſtian Religion. Lady *Mary* was ſo alarmed at theſe Proceedings, that ſhe wrote to the Protector, that ſuch Changes were contrary to the Honour due to her Father's Memory, and it was againſt their Duty to the King to enter upon ſuch Points, and endanger the publick Peace before he was of Age. To which he wrote Anſwer, That her Father had died before he could finiſh the good things he had intended concerning Religion; and had expreſſed his regret both before himſelf and many others, that he left things in ſo unſettled a ſtate; and aſſured her, that nothing ſhould be done but what would turn to the Glory of God, and the King's Honour: He imputed her Writing to the importunity of others rather than to her ſelf, and deſired her to conſider the Matter better, with an humble Spirit, and the aſſiſtance of the Grace of God. Book II. 1547.

The Parliament was opened the fourth of *November*, and the Protector was by Patent authorized to ſit under the Cloath of State, on the Right hand of the Throne; and to have all the Honours and Privileges that any Uncle of the Crown, A Parliament meets.

Book II. Crown, either by Father or Mother's ſide ever had. *Rich* was made Lord Chancellour. The
1547. firſt Act that paſt, (five Biſhops only diſſenting) was, "A Repeal of all Statutes that had
An Act of Repeal. "made any thing Treaſon or Felony in the late "Reign, which was not ſo before, and of the "Six Articles, and the Authority given to the "King's Proclamations, as alſo of the Acts a-"gainſt *Lollards*. All who denied the King's "Supremacy, or aſſerted the Pope's, for the "firſt Offence were to forfeit their Goods, for "the ſecond, were to be in a *Præmunire*, and "were to be attainted of Treaſon for the third. "But if any intended to deprive the King of his "Eſtate or Title, that was made Treaſon: None "were to be accuſed of Words but within a "Month after they were ſpoken; they alſo re-"pealed the Power that the King had of annul-"ling all Laws made, till he was twenty four "Years of Age, and reſtrained it only to an an-"nulling them for the time to come, but that it "ſhould not be of force for the declaring them "null from the beginning.

An Act about the Sacrament. Another Act paſt with the ſame diſſent, for the Communion in both Kinds, and that the People ſhould always Communicate with the Prieſt, and by it Irreverence to the Sacrament was condemned under ſevere Penalties. Chriſt had Inſtituted the Sacrament in both Kinds, and St. *Paul* mentions both. In the Primitive Church that Cuſtom was univerſally obſerved, but upon the belief of Tranſubſtantiation, the reſerving and carrying about the Sacrament were brought in; this made them firſt endeavour to perſwade the World, that the Cup was not neceſſary, for Wine could neither keep, nor be carried about conveniently; but it was done by degrees, the

Bread

Bread was for ſome time given dipt as it is yet in the *Greek* Church: But it being believed that Chriſt was entirely under either Kind, and in every Crumb, the Council of *Conſtance* took the Cup from the Laity, yet the *Bohemians* could not be brought to ſubmit to it, ſo every where the uſe of the Cup was one of the firſt things that was inſiſted on by thoſe who demanded a Reformation. At firſt all that were preſent did Communicate, and Cenſures paſt on ſuch as did it not: And none were denied the Sacrament, but Penitents, who were made to withdraw during the Action. But as the Devotion of the World ſlackned, the People were ſtill exhorted to continue their Oblations, and come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it; and were made believe, that the Prieſts received it in their ſtead: The name *Sacrifice* given to it, as being a Holy Oblation, was ſo far improved, that the World came to look on the Prieſts officiating, as a Sacrifice for the Dead and Living: From hence followed an infinite variety of Maſſes for all the Accidents of Human Life; and that was the chief part of the Prieſts Trade, but it occaſioned many unſeemly Jeſts concerning it, which were reſtrained by the ſame Act that put theſe down. Book II. 1547.

Another Act paſt without any diſſent, "That "the *Conge d' elire*, and the Election purſuant "to it, being but a ſhadow, (ſince the Perſon was "named by the King) ſhould ceaſe for the fu- "ture, and that Biſhops ſhould be named by the "King's Letters Patents, and thereupon be Con- "ſecrated; and ſhould hold their Courts in the "King's Name, and not in their own, excepting "only the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Court: "And they were to uſe the King's Seal in all their "Writings, except in Preſentations, Collations, "and

An Act concerning the nomination of Biſhops.

Book II. 1547. "and Letters of Orders, in which they might "use their own Seals. The Apostles chose Bishops and Pastors by an extraordinary gift of discerning Spirits, and proposed them to the approbation of the People; yet they left no Rules to make that necessary: In the times of Persecution, the Clergy being maintained by the Oblations of the People, they were chosen by them. But when the Emperours became Christians, the Town-Councils and eminent Men took the Elections out of the Hands of the Rabble: And the Tumults in popular Elections were such, that it was necessary to regulate them. In some places the Clergy, and in others the Bishops of the Province made the choice. The Emperours reserved the Confirmation of the Elections in the great Sees to themselves. But when *Charles* the Great annexed great Territories and Regalities to Bishopricks, a great Change followed thereupon: Church-men were corrupted by this undue Greatness, and came to depend on the Humours of those Princes to whom they owed this great encrease of their Wealth. Princes named them, and invested them in their Sees: But the Popes intended to separate the Ecclesiastical State from all Subjection to Secular Princes, and to make themselves the Heads of that State; at first they pretended to restore the freedom of Elections, but these were now ingrossed in a few Hands, for only the Chapters chose: The Popes had granted thirty Years before this to the King of *France* the nomination to all the Bishopricks in that Kingdom; so the King of *England*'s assuming it was no new thing, and the way of Elections, as King *Henry* had setled it, seemed to be but a Mockery: So this Change was not much condemned. The Ecclesiastical Courts were the Concessions

ceſſions of Princes, in which, Trials concerning Marriages, Wills and Tithes, depended, ſo the holding thoſe Courts in the King's Name, was no Invaſion of the Spiritual Function; ſince all that concerned Orders, was to be done ſtill in the Biſhop's Name, only Excommunication was ſtill left as the Cenſure of thoſe Courts, which being a Spiritual Cenſure, ought to have been reſerved to the Biſhop, to be proceeded in by him only with the aſſiſtance of his Clergy: And this fatal Error then committed, has not yet met with an effectual Regulation. Book II. 1547.

Another Act was made againſt idle Vagabonds, that they ſhould be made Slaves for two years, by any that ſhould ſeize on them: This was chiefly deſigned againſt ſome Vagrant Monks, appears by the Proviſo's in the Act; for they went about the Country, infuſing in the People a diſlike of the Government. The ſeverity of this Act made that the *Engliſh* Nation which naturally abhors ſlavery, did not care to execute it: and this made that the other Proviſo's, for ſupplying thoſe that were truly indigent, and were willing to be imployed, had no effect. But as no Nation has better, and more merciful Laws, for the ſupply of the Poor, ſo the fond pity that many ſhew to the common Beggars, which no Laws have been able to reſtrain, makes that a ſort of diſſolute and idle Beggars intercept much of that Charity, which ſhould go to the relief of thoſe that are indeed the only proper Objects of it. After this came the Act for giving the King all thoſe Chanteries, which the late King had not ſeized on by Virtue of the Grant made to him of them. *Cranmer* oppoſed this much: for the poverty of the Clergy was ſuch, that the State of Learning and Religion was like to ſuffer much, if it ſhould not

An Act againſt Vagabonds.

An Act for diſſolving the Chanteries

Book II. not be relieved: and yet he saw no probable Fond for that, but the preserving these, till the King
1547. should come to be at Age; and allow the selling them, for buying in, of at least, such a share of the Impropriations, as might afford some more comfortable subsistence to the Clergy: yet though he, and seven other Bishops dissented, it was past: After all other Acts, a General Pardon, but clogged with some Exceptions, came last: some Acts were proposed, but not past; one was for the free use of the Scriptures, others were for a Court of Chancery in Ecclesiastical Causes, for Residence, and for a Reformation of the Courts of Common-Law. The Convocation sat at the same time; and moved that a Commission begun in the late Reign of thirty two Persons for reforming the Ecclesiastical Laws might be revived, and that the inferiour Clergy might be admitted to sit in the House of Commons, for which they alledged a Clause in the Bishops Writ and Ancient Custom; and since some Prelates had, under the former Reign, begun to alter the form of the Service of the Church, they desired it might be brought to perfection: and that some care might be had of supplying the poor Clergy, and relieving them from the Taxes that lay on them. This concerning the inferiour Clergy's sitting in the House of Commons, was the subject of some Debate, and was again set on foot, both under Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, but to no effect. Some pretended that they always sat in the House of Commous, till the submission made in the former Reign, upon the suit of the *Præmunire*: but that cannot be true, since in this Convocation, 17 Years after that, in which many that had been in the former were present, no such thing was alledged. It is not clear who those Protectors of

The Convocation sits.

of the Clergy that ſat in Parliament, were: if they were the Biſhops Aſſiſtants, it is more proper to think they ſat in the Houſe of Lords. No mention is made of them, as having a ſhare in the Legiſlative Authority, in our Records, except in the 21 of *Richard* the 2d. In which mention is made, both of the Commons, the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and the Proctors of the Clergy concurring to the Acts then made: which makes it ſeem moſt probable that they were the Clerks of the Lower-Houſe of Convocation. When the Parliament met antiently all in one Body, the inferiour Clergy had their Writs, and came to it with the other Free-holders, but when the two Houſes were ſeparated, the Clergy became alſo a diſtinct Body, and gave their own Subſidies, and medled in all the Concerns, and repreſented all the Grievances of the Church. But now by the Act made upon the Submiſſion of the Clergy in the laſt Reign, their Power was reduced almoſt to nothing: ſo they thought it reaſonable to deſire, that either they might have their Repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons, or at leaſt, that Matters of Religion ſhould not paſs without the Aſſent of the Clergy. But the raiſing the Eccleſiaſtical Authority too high in former Times, made this turn, that it was now depreſſed as much below its juſt Limits, as it was before exalted above them: As commonly one extream produces another. Book II. 1547.

It was reſolved, that ſome Biſhops and Divines ſhould be ſent to *Windſor*, to finiſh ſome Reformations in the publick Offices; for the whole Lower-Houſe of Convocation, without a contradictory Vote, agreed to the Bill about the Sacrament. But it is not known what oppoſition it met with in the Upper-Houſe. A Propoſition being alſo ſet on foot concerning the Lawfulneſs of the

Book II. Marriage of the Clergy, thirty five ſubſcribed to the Affirmative, and only fourteen held the Negative.

1547.

And thus ended this Seſſion, both of Parliament and Convocation. And the Protector being now eſtabliſhed in his Power, and received by a Parliament, without contradiction, took out a new Commiſſion, in which, beſides his former Authority, he was impowered to ſubſtitute one in his room, during his abſence.

The Affairs of *Germany*.

In *Germany* the Princes of the *Smalcaldick* League were quite ruined; the Duke of *Saxe* was defeated, and taken Priſoner; and uſed with great ſeverity and ſcorn, which he bare with an invincible greatneſs of Mind. The Landgrave was perſwaded to ſubmit, and had aſſurances of Liberty given him; but by a Trick unbecoming the greatneſs of the Emperor, he was ſeized on and kept Priſoner, contrary to Faith given: Upon this, all the Princes and Towns, except *Magdeburg* and *Breme*, ſubmitted and purchaſed their Pardon, at what Terms the Conqueror was pleaſed to impoſe. The Biſhop and Elector of *Colen* withdrew peaceably to a Retirement, in which, after four Years, he died: And now all *Germany* was at the Emperor's Mercy. Some Cathedrals, as that at *Ausburg*, were again reſtored to the Biſhops, and Maſs was ſaid in them. A Diet was alſo held, in which the Emperor obtained a Decree to paſs, by which Matters of Religion were referred wholly to his Care. The Pope, inſtead of rejoycing at this Blow given the *Lutherans*, was much troubled at it: For the Emperor had now in one Year made an end of a War, which he hoped would have Imbroiled him his whole Life; ſo that *Italy* was now more at his Mercy than ever: And it ſeemed the Emperor intended to enlarge

large his Conqueſts there, for the Pope's Natural Son being killed by a Conſpiracy, the Governour of *Milan* ſeized on *Placentia*, which gave the Pope ſome jealouſy, as if the Emperor had been privy to the Deſign againſt his Son. The Emperor's Ambaſſadors were alſo very uneaſy to the Legates at *Trent*, and preſt a Reformation of Abuſes, and endeavoured to reſtrain them from proceeding in Points of Doctrine: So they took hold of the firſt Pretence they had by the Death of one that ſeemed to have ſome Symptoms of the Plague, and removed it to *Bologna*. By this all the Advantages the Emperor had from the Promiſes which the Proteſtants made, to ſubmit to a free General Council aſſembled in *Germany*, were defeated: And it was thought a ſtrange turn of Divine Providence, that when the extirpation of *Lutheraniſm* was ſo near being effected, a ſtop was put to it by that, which of all things was leaſt to be apprehended: Since it might have been expected, that the perfecting ſuch a Deſign would have made the Pope and the Emperor Friends, though there had been ever ſo many other Grounds of Difference between them. So unuſual a thing made the Favourers of the Reformation aſcribe it to the immediate Care that Heaven had of that Work, now when all the Human Supports of it were gone. Upon this fatal Revolution of Affairs there, many *Germans* and *Italians* that had retired to *Germany*, came over to *England*: *Peter Martyr* and *Bernardinus Ochinus* came over firſt, *Bucer* and *Fagius* followed. They were invited over by *Cranmer*, who entertained them at *Lambeth*, till they were provided. *P. Martyr* was ſent to *Oxford*, and *Bucer* and *Fagius* to *Cambridge*; but the latter died ſoon after. There were ſome differences between the *French* and *Engliſh*, concern-

Book II. 1547.

Book II. ing some new Forts, which were made about *Bulloign*, on both sides, yet a Truce was agreed on, 1547. for the Protector had no mind to engage in a War with *France*.

Differences between the Protector and the Admiral.

He had a new trouble raised up in his own Family, by the Ambition of his Brother, who thought that being the King's Unkle, as well as his Brother was, he ought to have a larger share of the Government. He had made Addresses to the Lady *Elizabeth* the King's Sister, but finding no hopes of success, he made applications to the Queen Dowager, who married him a little undecently, for it was afterwards objected to him, that he married her so soon after the King's Death, that if she had conceived with Child immediately after the Marriage, it might have been doubtful whether it was by the late King, or not: yet the Marriage was for some time concealed, and the Admiral moved the King and his Sisters, to write to the Queen, to accept him for her Husband: The King's Sisters excused themselves, that it was not decent for them to interpose in such a Matter, but the young King was more easy: so upon his Letter, the Queen published her Marriage. The Admiral being now possessed of much Wealth, and the King coming often to the Queen's Lodgings, he endeavoured to gain him, and all that were about him, and furnished the King often with Mony. His Design was, that whereas in former times, when Infant-Kings had two Unkles, one was Governour of his Person, and another was Protector of the Realm; so now these two Trusts might be divided, and that he might be made Governour of the King's Person. This is the true account of the Breach between those Brothers, for the Story of the Quarrel between their Wives about Precedence, seems to be an ill-grounded Fiction: for there was no pretence of a compe-

competition between the Queen Dowager and the Dutchess of *Somerset*; but the latter being a high Woman, might have perhaps inflamed her Husband's resentments, over whom she had an absolute Power, which gave the rise to that Story. The Protector was at first very easy to be reconciled to his Brother, but after the many provocations he received from him, he threw off Nature too much. When he was in *Scotland*, the Admiral began to take advantage upon that to make a Party: And the good Advices that were given him by *Paget*, to look on those as the common Enemies of their Family, who were making this Breach between them, had no effect to cure a Mind hurried on by Ambition. It was the Advertisement that was sent him of this, that made the Protector leave *Scotland* before he had finished his Business there. During the Session of Parliament, the Admiral prevailed with the King to write with his own hand a Message to the House of Commons, to make him the Governour of his Person. When the Admiral was making Friends in order to this, it came to his Brother's Ears, before he had made any publick use of it: So he employed some to divert him from it, but with no success. Upon that, he was sent for to appear before the Council, but he refused to come; yet they having threatned to turn him out of all his Places, and to send him to the *Tower*, he submitted, and the Brothers were reconciled: But the Admiral continued his secret Practices still with those about the King. Book II. 1547.

Gardiner being included in the Act of Pardon, was set at liberty: He promised to receive and obey the Injunctions, only he excepted to the Homily of Justification; yet he complied in that likewise: but it was visible that in his Heart he abhorred all their Proceedings, though he outwardly 1548.

Book II. conformed. The Second Marriage of the M. of *Northampton* was tried at this time; for his first Wife being convict of Adultery, he and she were separated. And he moved in the end of the former Reign, that he might be suffered to marry again; so a Commission was then granted, and was renewed in this Reign to some Delegates, to examine what relief might be given to the innocent Person in such a case. But this being new, and *Cranmer* proceeding in it with his usual exactness, which is often accompanied with slowness, the Marques became impatient, and married a second Wife: Upon this, the Council ordered them to be parted till the Delegates should give Sentence. The Arguments for the second Marriage were these, Christ had condemned Divorces for other Cases, but excepted that of Adultery. A Separation from Bed and Board, and the Marriage Bond standing, was contrary to many places of Scripture, that mention the end of Marriage. St. *Paul* discharges the married Person, if the other wilfully deserted him; much more will it follow in the case of Adultery. And though St. *Paul* says the Wife is tied to her Husband as long as he liveth, that is only to be understood of a Husband that continued to be one; but that relation ceased by Adultery. The Fathers differed in their Opinions in this Matter, some allowed marriage upon Divorce to the Husband, but denied it to the Wife; others allowed it to both. So *Turtullian*, *Epiphanius* and *Basil*; *Jerome* also justified *Fabiola*, that had done it. *Chrysostom* and *Chromatius* allowed a second Marriage. St. *Austin* was doubtful about it. The *Roman* Emperors allowed, by their Laws, even after they became Christians, Divorce, and a second Marriage, both to Husbands and Wives, upon many other Reasons besides Adultery; as for procuring Abortions, treating

1548. The M. of *Northampton*'s Divorce

ing for another Marriage, being guilty of Treason, or a Wife's going to Plays without her Husbands leave. Nor did the Fathers in those Times complain of those Laws: This was also allowed by the Canons upon several Occasions; but after the State of Cœlebate came to be magnified out of measure, second Marriages were more generally condemned: And this was heightened when Marriage was look'd on as a Sacrament. Yet though no Divorces were allowed in the Church, the Canonists found out many shifts for annulling Marriages from the beginning, to those that could pay well for them. All these things being considered, the Delegates gave sentence, confirming the second Marriage, and dissolved the first. Book II. 1548.

Candlemass and *Lent* were now approaching, so the Clergy and People were much divided with relation to the Ceremonies usual at those times. By some Injunctions in King *Henry*'s Reign it had been declared, that Fasting in *Lent* was only binding by a positive Law. Wakes and Plough-Mondays were also suppressed, and hints were given that other Customs, which were much abused, should be shortly put down. The gross Rabble loved these things, as matters of diversion, and thought Divine Worship without them would be but a dull Business. But others look'd on these as Reliques of Heathenism, since the *Gentiles* worshipped their Gods with such Festivities, and thought they did not become the gravity and simplicity of the Christian Religion. *Cranmer* upon this procured an Order of Council against the carrying of Candles on *Candlemass*-day, of Ashes on *Ash-wednesday*, and Palms on *Palm-sunday*; which was directed to *Bonner* to be intimated to the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, and was executed by him. But a Proclamation followed a- Some Ceremonies abrogated.

Book II. gainſt all that ſhould make changes without Authority: The creeping to the Croſs, and taking Holy
1548. Bread and Water, were by it put down, and Power was given to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to certify, in the King's Name, what Ceremonies ſhould he afterwards laid aſide; and none were to preach out of their own Pariſhes without licence from the King or the Viſitors, the Archbiſhop, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs. Some queſtioned the Councils Power to make ſuch Orders, the Act that gave Authority to their Proclamations being repealed: but it was ſaid, the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Matters might well juſtify their making
Feb. 8. ſuch Rules. Soon after this, a General Order followed for a removal of all Images out of Churches. There were every where great Conteſts whether the Images had been abuſed to Superſtition or not. Some thought the conſecration of them was an abuſe common to them all. Thoſe alſo that repreſented the Trinity, as a Man with three Faces in one Head, or as an old Man with a young Man before him, and a Dove over his Head; and ſomewhere the Bleſſed Virgin was repreſented as aſſumed into it, gave ſo great Scandal, that it was no wonder, if Men, as they grew to be better enlightened, could no longer endure them. The only occaſion given to Cenſure in this Order, was, that all Shrines, and the Plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in to the King's Uſe. A Letter was at that time writ to all Preachers, requiring them to exhort the People to amend their Lives, and forſake Superſtition; but for things not yet changed, to bear with them, and not to run before thoſe whom they ſhould obey. Some hot Men condemned this Temper, as ſavouring too much of carnal Policy: But it was ſaid, that though the Apoſtles, by the Gift of Miracles,

Miracles, had ſufficient Means to convince the World of their Authority; yet they did not all at once change the Cuſtoms of the *Moſaical* Law, but proceeded by degrees; and Chriſt forbid the pulling up the Tares, leſt good Wheat ſhould be pulled up with them; ſo it was fit to wean People by degrees from their former Superſtition, and not to run too faſt. Book II. 1548.

A new Office for the Communion.

Eighteen Biſhops, and ſome Divines, were now imployed to examine the Offices of the Church, to ſee which of them needed amendment. They began with the Euchariſt. They proceeded in the ſame manner that was uſed in the former Reign. For every one gave in his Opinion in Writing, in anſwer to the Queſtions that were put to them. Some of theſe are ſtill preſerved, which were concerning the Prieſts ſole communicating, and Maſſes ſatisfactory for the Dead; the Maſs in an unknown Tongue, the hanging it up and expoſing it, and the Sacrifice that was made in it. In moſt of thoſe Papers it appears that the greateſt part of the Biſhops were ſtill leavened with the old Superſtition, at leaſt to ſome degree. It was clearly found that the plain Inſtitution of the Sacrament was much viriated, with a mixture of many Heatheniſh Rites and Pomps, on deſign to raiſe the Credit of the Prieſts, in whoſe Hands that great Performance was lodged. This was at firſt done to draw over the Heathens by thoſe ſplendid Rites to Chriſtianity; but Superſtition once begun, has no bounds nor meaſures; and Ignorance and Barbarity encreaſing in the darker Ages, there was no regard had to any thing in Religion, but as it was ſet off with much Pageantry: And the belief of the Corporal Preſence raiſed this to a great height. The Office was in an unknown Tongue; all the Veſſels and Garments belonging to it, were Conſecrated with much Devotion, a great

Book II. 1548. great part of the Service was ſecret, to make it look like a wonderful Charm; the Conſecration it ſelf was to be ſaid very ſoftly, for Words that were not to be heard, agreed beſt with a Change that was not to be ſeen: The many Geſticulations, and the magnificent Proceſſions, all tended to raiſe this Pageantry higher. Maſſes were alſo ſaid for all the Turns and Affairs of Human Life. Trentals, a Cuſtom of having Thirty Maſſes a Year on the chief Feſtivities for redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, was that which brought the Prieſts moſt Mony, for theſe were thought God's beſt Days, in which acceſs was eaſier to him. On Saints Days, in the Maſs it was prayed, That by the Saints Interceſſion, the Sacrifice might become the more acceptable, and procure a larger Indulgence; which could not be eaſily explained, if the Sacrifice was the Death of Chriſt; beſides a numberleſs variety of other Rites, for many of the Reliques of Heatheniſm were made uſe of for the corrupting of the Holieſt Inſtitution of the Chriſtian Religion. The firſt ſtep that was now made, was a new Office for the Communion, that is, the diſtribution of the Sacrament, for the Office of Conſecration was not at this time touched. It differs very little from what is ſtill uſed. In the Exhortation, Auricular Confeſſion to a Prieſt is left free to be done or omitted, and all were required not to judge one another in that Matter. There was alſo a Denunciation made, requiring impenitent Sinners to withdraw. The Bread was to be ſtill of the ſame form that had been formerly uſed. In the Diſtribution it was ſaid, *The Body of our Lord*, &c. *preſerve thy Body*, and *The Blood of our Lord*, &c. *preſerve thy Soul*. This was Printed with a Proclamation, requiring all to receive it with ſuch Reverence and Uniformity, as might encourage the

the King to proceed further, and not to run to other things before the King gave Direction, assuring the People of his earnest Zeal to set forth godly Orders; and therefore it was hoped they would tarry for it: The Books were sent over *England*, and the Clergy were appointed to give the Communion next *Easter* according to them. Book II. 1548.

Many were much offended to find Confession left indifferent, so this Matter was examined. Christ gave his Apostles a Power of binding and loosing, and St. *James* commanded all to confess their Faults to one another. In the Primitive Church all that denied the Faith, or otherwise gave Scandal, were separated from the Communion, and not admitted to it till they made publick Confession: And according to the degrees of their Sins, the time and degrees of publick Penitence, and their Separation were proportioned: Which was the chief Subject of the Consultations of the Councils in the fourth and fifth Centuries. For secret Sins, the People lay under no obligation to confess, but they went often to the Priests for direction, even for these. Near the end of the fifth Century they began to have secret Penances and Confessions, as well as publick: But in the seventh Century this became the general Practice. In the eighth Century the Commutation of Penance for Mony, or other Services done the Church, was brought in. Then the Holy Wars and Pilgrimages came to be magnified: Croisadoes against Hereticks, or Princes deposed by the Pope, were set up instead of all other Penances: Priests also managed Confession and Absolution, so as to enter into all Mens Secrets, and to govern their Consciences by them; but they becoming very ignorant, and not so associated as to be governed by Orders that might be sent them from *Rome*, the Friers were every

Auricular Confession examined.

Book II. every where imployed to hear Confeſſions, and many reſerved Caſes were made, in which the
1548. Pope only gave Abſolution; theſe were truſted to them, and they had the Trade of Indulgences put in their Hands, which they managed with as much Confidence as Mountebanks uſed in ſelling their Medicines, with this advantage, that the ineffectualneſs of their Devices was not ſo eaſily diſcovered, for the People believed all that the Prieſts told them. In this they grew to ſuch a pitch of Confidence, that for ſaying ſome Collects; Indulgences for Years, and for Hundreds, Thouſands, yea, a Million of Years, were granted; ſo cheap a thing was Heaven made. This Trade was now thrown out of the Church, and private Confeſſion was declared indifferent: But it was much cenſured, that no Rules for Publick Penance were ſet up at this time, but what were corrupted by the Canoniſts. The People did not think a Declarative Abſolution ſufficient, and thought it ſurer Work, when a Prieſt ſaid, *I abſolve thee*, though that was but a late Invention. Others cenſured the Words of Diſtribution, by which the Bread was appropriated to the Body; and the Cup to the Soul: And this was ſoon after amended; only ſome words relating to it are ſtill in the Collect, *We do not preſume.*

Gardiner is Impriſoned. The Affairs of State took up the Council as much as the Matters of Religion imployed the Biſhops; the War with *Scotland* grew chargeable, and was ſupported from *France*, but the Sale of the Chantry Lands brought the Council in ſome Mony. *Gardiner* was brought into new Trouble, many Complaints were made of him, that he diſparaged the Preachers ſent with the King's Licence into his Dioceſs, and that he ſecretly oppoſed all Reformation. So being brought before the

the Council, he denied moſt of the things objected to him, and offered to explain himſelf openly in a Sermon before the King. The Protector preſt him not to meddle in Matters not yet determined, particularly the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and to aſſert the King's Power, though he was under Age, and the Authority of the Council: For the Clergy began generally to ſay, that though they acknowledged the King's Supremacy; yet they would not yield it to the Council; and ſeemed to place it in ſome extraordinary Grace conferred on the King by the Anointing in the Coronation. So the Protector deſired *Gardiner* to declare himſelf in thoſe Points; but when he came to preach on St. *Peter*'s Day, he inveighed againſt the Pope's Supremacy, and aſſerted the King's, but ſaid nothing of the Council, nor the King's Power under Age: He alſo juſtified the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries and Chantries, and the putting down Maſſes Satisfactory, as alſo the removing of Images, the Sacrament in both Kinds, and the new Order for the Communion; but did largely aſſert the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament: Upon which, there was a Noiſe raiſed by hot Men of both ſides, during the Sermon; and this was ſaid to be a ſtirring of Sedition, and upon that he was ſent to the *Tower*. This way of proceeding was thought contrary both to Law and Juſtice; and as all violent Courſes do, this rather weakned than ſtrengthned thoſe that were moſt concerned in it. *Cranmer* did at this time ſet out a large Catechiſm, which he Dedicated to the King. He inſiſted much on ſhewing that Idolatry had been committed in the uſe of Images: He aſſerted the Divine Inſtitution of Biſhops and Prieſts, and their Authority of Abſolving Sinners, and expreſſed great Zeal for the ſetting up Penitentiary Canons, and exhorted

Book II. 1548.

Book II. exhorted the People to discover the state of their Souls to their Pastors: From this it appears, that he had changed the Opinion he formerly held, against the Divine Institution of Ecclesiastical Offices.

1548.

A new Liturgy composed.

But now a more general Reformation of the whole Liturgy was under consideration, that all the Nation might have an Uniformity in the Worship of God; and be no more cantoned to the several Uses of *Sarum*, *York*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, and *Bangor*. Anciently the Liturgies were short, and had few Ceremonies in them: Every Bishop had one for his own Dioceſs: but in the *African* Churches, they began first to put them into a more Regular Form. *Gregory* the Great laboured much in this, yet he left *Austin* the Monk to his liberty, either to use the *Roman* or *French* Forms in *England*, as he found they were like to tend most to Edification. Great Additions were made in every Age; for the private Devotions of some that were reputed Saints, were added to the Publick Offices: and mysterious significations were invented for every new Rite, which was the chief study of some Ages: and all was swelled up to a vast bulk. It was not then thought on, that praying by the Spirit, consisted in the inventing new words, and uttering them with warmth; and it seemed too great a subjection of the People to their Priests, that they should make them joyn with them in all their heats in Prayer: and would have proved as great a resignation of their Devotion to them, as the former Superstition had made of their Faith. It was then resolved to have a Liturgy, and to bring the Worship to a fit mean, between the Pomp of Superstition, and naked flatness: They resolved to change nothing, meerly in opposition to received practices, but rather in Imitation of what Christ did, in the Institution

tution of the two Sacraments of the Gospel, that did consist of Rites used among the *Jews*, but blessed by him to higher purposes, to comply with what had been formerly in use, as much as was possible, thereby to gain the People. All the Consecrations of Water, Salt, &c. in the Church of *Rome*, look'd like the remainders of Heathenism, and were laid aside: by these, Devils being abjured, and a Divine Virtue supposed to be in them, the People came to think, that by such Observances they might be sure of Heaven. The Absolutions, by which, upon the account of the Merits of the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, the sprinklings of Water, Fastings, and Pilgrimages, with many other things, Sins were pardoned, as well as on the account of the Passion of Christ, and the Absolution given to dead Bodies, look'd like gross Impostures, tending to make the World think, that besides the painful way to Heaven, in a course of true Holiness, the Priests had secrets in their Hands, of carrying People thither in another Method, and on easier terms; and this drew in the People to purchase their Favour, especially when they were dying: so that, as their Fears were then heightned, there was no other way left them, in the conclusion of an ill Life, to dye with any good hopes, but as they bargained for them with their Priests; therefore all this was now cast out. It was resolved to have the whole Worship in the Vulgar Tongue; upon which St. *Paul* has copiously enlarged himself: and all Nations, as they were converted to Christianity, had their Offices in their Vulgar Tongue; but of late, it had been pretended, that it was a part of the Communion of Saints, that the Worship should be every where in the same Language; though the People were hardly used, when for the sake of some Vagrant Priests,

Book II. 1548.

Book II. Priests, that might come from Foreign Parts, they were kept from knowing what was said in the
1548. Worship of God. It was pretended, that *Pilate* having ordered the Inscription on the Cross, in *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Hebrew*, these three Languages were sanctified; but it is not easy to understand what Authority he had for confering such a Priviledg on them. But the keeping all in an unknown Tongue, preserved in dark Ages the esteem of their Offices; in which there were such Prayers and Hymns, and such Lessons, that if the People had understood them, they must have given great scandal: In many Prayers the Pardon of Sins, and the Grace of God were asked, in such a stile, of the Saints, as if these had been wholly at their disposal, and as if they had been more merciful than God, or Christ. In former Times, all that did officiate, were peculiarly habited, and all their Garments were blessed: and these were considered, as a part of the train of the Mass; but on the other hand, White had been the colour of the Priests Vestments, under the *Mosaical* Law, and was early brought into the Christian Churches: It was a proper expression of Innocence, and it was fit that the Worship of God should be in a decent Habit. So it was continued, and since the Sacrifices offered to Idols, were not thereby according to St. *Paul*, of their own nature polluted, and every Creature of God was good; it was thought, notwithstanding the former Abuse, most reasonable to use these Garments still.

The new Offices.

The Morning and Evening Prayers were put almost in the same Method, in which we use them still, only there was no Confession nor Absolution. In the Office for the Communion, there was a Commemoration of Thanksgiving, for the Blessed Virgin, and all departed Saints, and they were commended

commended to God's Mercy and Peace. In the Consecration, the use of crossing the Elements was retained; but there was no Elevation, which was at first used as an Historical Rite, to shew Christ's being lifted up on the Cross; but was afterwards done, to call on the People to adore it. No stamp was to be on the Bread, and it was to be thicker than ordinary. It was to be put in the Peoples Mouths by the Priests, though it had been antiently put in their Hands. Some in the *Greek* Church began to take it in Spoons of Gold, others in a Linnen Cloth, called their *Dominical*: But after the Corporal Presence was received, the People were not suffered to touch it, and the Priests Thumbs and Fingers were peculiarly anointed, to qualify them for that Contact. In Baptism, the Child's Head and Breast was crost, and an Adjuration was made of the Devil, to depart from him: Children were to be thrice dipt, or in case of weakness, Water was to be sprinkled on their Faces, and then they were to be anointed. The Sick might also be anointed, if they desired it. At Funerals, the departed Soul was recommended to God's Mercy. Book II. 1548.

Private Communion

The Sacraments were formerly believed, of such virtue, that they conferred Grace, by the very receiving them, *ex opere operato*: And so Women Baptized. The Ancients did send Portions of the Eucharist to the Sick, but without any Pomp: which came in, when the Corporal Presence was believed. But instead of that, it was now appointed, that the Sacrament should be ministred to the Sick, and therefore in case of weakness, Children might be baptized in Houses; though it was more suitable to the design of Baptism, which was the admission of a new Member to the Church, to do it before the whole Congregation: But this, which

Book II. 1548. was a Proviſion for Weakneſs, is become ſince a Mark of Vanity, and a piece of affected State. It was alſo appointed, that the Sacrament ſhould be given to the Sick, and not to be ſent from the Church, but Conſecrated by their Bed-ſides: Since Chriſt had ſaid, that where two or three were aſſembled in his Name, he would be in the midſt of them. But it is too groſs a Relique of the worſt part of Popery, if any imagine, that after an ill Life, ſome ſudden ſorrow for Sin, with a haſty Abſolution, and the Sacrament, will be a Paſſport to Heaven, ſince the Mercies of God in Chriſt are offered in the Goſpel, only to thoſe who truly believe, ſincerely repent, and do change the Courſe of their Lives.

The Liturgy thus compiled, was publiſhed with a Preface, concerning Ceremonies, the ſame that is ſtill in the Common-Prayer-Book, written with extraordinary Judgment and Temper.

Cenſures paſt on the Common-Prayer-Book

When the Book came into all Mens Hands, ſeveral things were cenſured: As particularly the frequent uſe of the Croſs and Anointing. The former began to be uſed, as a badg of a Crucified Saviour: But the Superſtition of it was ſo much advanced, that *Latria* was given to the Croſier. The uſing it was alſo believed to have a Virtue for driving away evil Spirits, and preſerving one from Dangers: So that a Sacramental Virtue was affixed to it; which could not be done, ſince there is no Inſtitution for it in Scripture: But the uſing it as a Ceremony, expreſſing the believing in a Crucified Saviour, could import no Superſtition, ſince Ceremonies, that only expreſs our Duty or Profeſſion, may be uſed as well as Words, theſe being Signs, as the other are Sounds, that expreſs our Thoughts. The uſe of Oyl in Confirmation, and receiving Penitents, was early brought into the

the Church: but it was not applied to the Sick, till the tenth Century; for the Ancients did not underſtand thoſe words of St. *James*, to relate to it, but to the extraordinary Gift of Healing, then in the Church. Book II. 1548.

While theſe Changes were under Conſideration, there were great Heats every where, and a great Contradiction among the Pulpits; ſome commending all the old Cuſtoms, and others inveighing as much againſt them: ſo the Power of granting Licences to Preach, was taken from the Biſhops, and reſtrained only to the King and the Archbiſhops; yet even that did not prove an effectual Reſtraint. So a Proclamation was ſet out, reſtraining all Preaching, till the Order, which was then in the hands of the Biſhops, ſhould be finiſhed; and inſtead of hearing Sermons, all were required to apply themſelves to Prayer, for a Bleſſing on that which was then a preparing, and to content themſelves in the mean while with the Homilies. All Preaching was for ſome time reſtrained.

The War of *Scotland* continued: the *Scots* received a great ſupply from *France* of 6000 Men, under the command of *Deſſy*. The *Engliſh* had fortified *Hadington*, which was well ſituated, and lay in a fruitful Country: ſo the Governour of *Scotland* joyning an Army of *Scots* to the *French*, ſat down before it. The Protector ſaw the Inconveniences of a long War coming on him, both with *Scotland* and *France*: ſo he offered a Truce for Ten Years, in which time he hoped, by Preſents and Practices, to gain, or at leaſt to divide thoſe, who were united by the War. Many of the *Scotch* Nobility liked the Propoſition well: and indeed the Inſolence of the *French* was ſuch, that inſtead of being Auxiliaries, they conſidered them as Enemies. But the Clergy were ſo apprehenſive of a Match with *England*, that they never concluded themſelves ſe- Affairs in *Scotland*.

Book II. cure, till it were put out of their Power; and ſo did vehemently promote the Propoſition made by
1548. the *French*, of ſending their Queen over to *France*: and this was in concluſion agreed to. So the *French* Ships that brought over the Auxiliaries, carried back the young Queen. The Siege of *Hadington* went on: a great Recruit ſent to them from *Berwick* was intercepted, and cut off: but they were well ſupplied with Ammunition and Proviſions. Some Caſtles that the *Engliſh* had, were taken by ſurprize, and others by Treachery: a Fleet was ſent to ſpoil the Coaſt of *Scotland*, under the Admiral's Command, but he made only two deſcents, in both which he had ſuch ill ſucceſs, that he loſt near 1200 Men in them. The E. of *Shrewsbury* led in a good Army to the relief of *Hadington*: The Siege was opened, and the Place well ſupplied. But as *Deſſy* marched back to *Edenburgh*, his Souldiers committed great Outrages upon the *Scots*, ſo that if *Shrewsbury* had deſigned to fight, he had great Advantages, ſince the *Scots* were now very weary of their imperious Friends, the *French*: but he marched back, having performed that for which he was ſent. *Deſſy* followed him, and made a great inroad into *England*, but would not give the *Scots* any ſhare of the Spoil, and treated them in all things, as a conquered Province: and being in fear of them, he fortified himſelf in *Leith*, which before was but an inconſiderable Village. He alſo attacked the Fort which the *Engliſh* had in *Inchkeith*, and took it. But he was recalled upon the Complaints that were ſent to the Court of *France*, gainſt him. Now the People there began to feel their Slavery, and to hate thoſe that had perſwaded the ſending their Queen to *France*, and particularly the Clergy, and were thereby the more diſpoſed to hearken to ſuch Preachers, as diſcover-

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ed their Corruptions and Superſtition. *Monluc* Bi- Book II.
ſhop of *Valence*, a Man celebrated for Wiſdom, 1548.
and for ſo much moderation in Matters of Religion, that it drew upon him the ſuſpicion of Hereſy, was ſent over from *France* to be Chancellor of *Scotland*. This was like to give great diſcontent to the *Scottiſh* Nobility: ſo he returned to *France*. The *Engliſh* were now involved in a War, in which they could promiſe themſelves no good iſſue, unleſs they could conquer the Kingdom: for the end they had propoſed by a Match, was now put out of the Power, even of the *Scots* themſelves.

Affairs in *Germany*.

In *Germany*, the Emperor, after he had uſed all poſſible Endeavours to bring the Council back to *Trent*, but without ſucceſs, proteſted againſt thoſe at *Bologna*: and ordered three Divines (one of them was eſteemed a Proteſtant) to draw a Book for reconciling Matters of Religion, which ſhould take place in that interval, till a Council ſhould meet in *Germany*, called from that the *Interim*. The chief Conceſſions, in favour of the Proteſtants, were the Communion in both kinds, and that married Prieſts might officiate. A Diet was ſummoned, where *Maurice* was inveſted in the Electorate of *Saxe*, the degraded Elector being made to look on, and ſee the Ceremony; which he did with his ordinary conſtancy of Mind: and without expreſſing any concern about it, he returned to his Studies; which were chiefly imployed in the Scriptures. The Book was propoſed to the Diet, and the Biſhop of *Mentz*, without any Order, thanked the Emperor for it, in their Name; and this was Publiſhed, as the Conſent of the Diet. So ſlight a thing will paſs for a Conſent of the States, by a Conquerour that looks on himſelf as above Law. Both Papiſts and Proteſtants were offended at it. It was condemned at *Rome*, where no He-

Book II. resy was more odious, than that the Secular Powers should meddle in Points of Faith. The Pro-
1548. testants generally refused it: and the imprison'd Elector could not be wrought on to receive it, neither by the Offers that were made him, nor the Severities he was put to, in all which he was always the same. Some Contests arose between *Melancthon*, and the other *Lutherans*: for he thought the Ceremonies, being things indifferent, might be received; but the others thought these would make way for all the other Errors of Popery. The Protestant Religion was now almost ruined in *Germany*, and this made the Divines turn their Eyes to *England*. *Calvin* wrote to the Protector, and prest him to go on to a more compleat Reformation, and that Prayers for the Dead, the Chrism and Extream Unction might be laid aside. He desired him to trust in God, and go on, and wished there were more Preaching, and in a more lively way, than he heard was then in *England*: but above all things he prayed him to suppress that Impiety and Profanity, that, he heard, abounded in the Nation.

1549. In the end of this Year, a Session of Parliament met, but no Bill was finished before *February*; the first was concerning the married Clergy, which was finished by the Commons in six Days, but lay six Weeks before the Lords: Nine Bishops, and four Temporal Lords protested against it. It was declared, that it were better for Priests to live unmarried, free of all worldly Cares; yet since the Laws compelling it, had occasioned great filthiness, they were all repealed. The pretence of Chastity in the *Romish* Priests, had possessed the World with a high Opinion of them, and had been a great reflection on the Reformers, if the World had not clearly seen through it, and been made very sensible of the ill Effects of it, by the

A Session of Parliament.

An Act for the marriage of the Clergy.

defile-

defilement it brought into their own Beds and Fa- Book II
milies. Nor was there any Point in which the Re-
formers had enquired more, to remove this Preju- 1549.
dice that lay againſt them. In the Old Teſtament, all the Prieſts were not only married, but the Office deſcended by Inheritance. In the New Teſtament, Marriage was declared *Honourable in all*; among the Qualifications of Biſhops and Deacons, their being the *Husbands of one Wife*, are reckoned up. Many of the Apoſtles were married, and carried their Wives about with them, as alſo *Aquila* did *Priſcilla*. Forbidding to marry, is reckoned a Mark of the Apoſtacy that was to follow. Some of the firſt Hereticks inveighed againſt Marriage, but the Orthodox juſtified it, and condemned thoſe Churchmen that put away their Wives: which was confirmed by a General Council, in the fifth Century: *Paphnutius*, in the Council of *Nice*, In *Trullo*.
oppoſed a Motion that was made for it: *Hilary* of *Poictiers* was married, *Baſil* and *Nazianzen*'s Fathers were Biſhops. *Heliodorus*, the firſt that wrote a Romance, moved that Biſhops might live ſingly; but till then every one did in that as he pleaſed; and even thoſe who were twice married, if the firſt was before their Converſion, might be Biſhops, which *Jerome* himſelf, though very partial to Celibate, juſtifies; all the Canons made againſt the married Clergy, were only poſitive Laws, which might be repealed. The Prieſts in the *Greek* Church did ſtill live with their Wives at that time. In the Weſt, the Clergy did generally marry; and in *Edgar*'s Time, they were for the moſt part married in *England*. In the Ninth Century, *P. Nicholas* preſt the Celibate much, but was oppoſed by many. In the Eleventh Century, *Gregory* the Seventh intending to ſet up a new Eccleſiaſtical Empire, found that the unmarried

Book II. Clergy would be ſureſt to him, ſince the married gave Pledges to the State, and therefore he pro-
1749. ceeded furiouſly in it; and called all the married Prieſts, *Nicolaitans*: yet in *England*, *Lanfranc* did only impoſe the Celibate on the Prebendaries, and the Clergy that lived in Towns: *Anſelm* impoſed it on all without exception; but both *He*, *Bernard*, and *Petrus Damiani*, complain, that *Sodomy* abounded much, even among the Biſhops: And not only *Panormitan*, but *Pius* the *Second* wiſhed, that the Laws for the Celibate were taken away. So it was clear, that it was not founded on the Laws of God: and it was a Sin to force Churchmen to vow that which ſometimes was not in their Power: and it was found by examining the Forms of Ordination, that the Prieſts in *England* had made no ſuch Vows; and even the Vow in the *Roman* Pontifical to live chaſtly, did not import a Tie not to marry, ſince a Man might live Chaſt in a married ſtate. Many lewd Stories were publiſhed of the Clergy, but none ſeemed more remarkable, than that of the *Pope*'s Legate, in *Henry* the ſecond's Time, who the very ſame Night after he had put all the married Clergy from their Benefices, was found a-bed with a Whore. It was alſo obſerved, that the unmarried Biſhops, if they had not Baſtards to raiſe, were as much ſet on advancing their Nephews and Kindred, as thoſe that were married could be. Nor did any Perſons meddle more in Secular Affairs, than the unmarried Clergy: and it might be reaſonable to reſtrain the Clergy, as was done in the Primitive Church, from converting the Goods of the Church, which were intruſted to their care, to the enriching of their Families. None appeared more zealous for procuring this Liberty, than ſeveral Clergy-men that never made uſe of it, in particular, *Ridley* and *Redmayn*.

An-

Another Act paſt, confirming the Liturgy, which was now finiſhed, Eight Biſhops, and three Temporal Lords only proteſting againſt it. There was a long Preamble, ſetting forth the inconvenience of the former Offices, and the Pains that had been taken to reform them; and that divers Biſhops and Divines had, by the aid of the Holy Ghoſt, with an uniform Agreement concluded on the new Book: therefore they enacted, That by *Whitſunday* next, all Divine Offices ſhould be performed according to it; and if any uſed other Offices, for the firſt Offence they ſhould be impriſoned ſix months, loſe their Benefices for a ſecond, and be impriſoned during Life for the third Offence. Some cenſured thoſe words, that the Book was compoſed by the *Aid of the Holy Ghoſt*; but this did not import an *Inſpiration*, but a *Divine Aſſiſtance*. Many wondred to ſee the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Chicheſter*, and *Weſtminſter*, proteſt againſt the Act, ſince they had concurred in compoſing the Book. It does not appear whether they were diſſatisfied at any thing in it, or whether they oppoſed the impoſing it on ſuch ſevere Penalties: or if they were diſpleaſed at a Proviſo that was added for the uſing of Pſalms taken out of the Bible, which was intended for the ſinging Pſalms, then put in Verſe, and much uſed both in Churches and Houſes, by all that loved the Reformation. In the Primitive Times the Chriſtians uſed the Pſalter much, and the chief Devotion of the Monaſtick Orders conſiſted in repeating it often. *Appollinarius* put it in Verſe, and both *Nazianzen* and *Prudentius* wrote many devout Hymns in Verſe: Others, though in Proſe, were much uſed, as the *Gloria in Excelſis*, and the *Te Deum*: afterwards the greateſt part of the Offices was put in *Latin* Rhymes, and ſo now ſome *Engliſh* Poets turned the Pſalter into Verſe, which

Book II.

1549. An Act confirming the Liturgy.

was

Book II. was then much esteemed; but both our Language and Poetry, being since that Time much improved, this Work has now lost its Beauty so much, that there is great need of a new Version.

1549.

An Act for Fasting.

Another Act past about Fasting, declaring, "That though all Days and Meats were in themselves alike, yet Fasting, being a great help to "Vertue, and to the subduing the Body to the "Mind, and a distinction of Meats conducing to "the advancement of the Fishing-trade, it was "Enacted, That *Lent*, and all *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, and *Ember* Days, should be Fish-days, under "everal Penalties, excepting the Weak, or those "that had the King's Licence. Christ had told his Disciples, that when he was taken from them, they should *Fast*: So in the Primitive Church they fasted before *Easter*; but the same number of Days was not observed in all Places: Afterwards other Rules and Days were set up: But St. *Austin* complained, that many in his Time placed all their Religion in observing them. Fast-days were turned to a mockery in the Church of *Rome*, in which they both dined, and did eat Fish dress exquisitely, and drank Wine. This made many run to another Extream against all Fasts, or distinction of Days, which certainly, if rightly managed, and without Superstition, is a great means for keeping up a seriousness of Mind, which is necessary for the maintaining the Power of Religion. Other Bills were proposed, but not past; one for making it Treason to marry the King's Sisters, without the Consent of the King and Council: But the forfeiture of Succession in that Case was thought sufficient. The Bishops did also complain of their want of Power to repress Vice, which so much abounded: But the Laity were so apprehensive of coming again under an Ecclesiastical Tyranny, that they

they would not consent to it. A Proposition was also made for bringing the Common-Law into a Body, in imitation of *Justinian*'s Digests: But it fell, being too great a Design to be finished under an Infant King. Book II. 1549.

In this Parliament the Admiral was Attainted. The Queen Dowager died in *September* last, not without suspicion of Poison; upon that, he renewed his Addresses to Lady *Elizabeth*; but finding it in vain to expect that his Brother and the Council would consent to it, and that her Right to the Succession would be cut off if he married her without their Consent, he resolved to make sure of the King's Person, till he made a change in the Government: He fortified his House, he laid up a Magazine, and made a Party among the Nobility. The Protector imployed many to divert him from those desperate Designs, but his Ambition being incurable, he was forced to proceed to Extremities against him. He sent him Prisoner to the *Tower* in *January*, with his Confederate *Sharington*, who being Vice-Treasurer of the Mint at *Bristol*, had supplied him with Mony, and had Coined much base Mony for his use. Many were sent to perswade him to a better Mind, and his Brother was willing to be again reconciled to him, if he would retire from the Court and Business; but he was intractable. So, many Articles were objected to him, both of his Designs against the State, and of his Malversation in his Office, several Pirates having been entertained by him. Many Witnesses, and Letters under his own Hand, were brought against him. Almost the whole Council went to the *Tower* and examined him; but he refused to make any Answers, and said, he expected an open Trial. The whole Council upon this, acquainted the King

The Admiral's Attainder.

Book II. King with it, and desired him to refer the Matter to the Parliament, which he granted. Upon that, some Counsellors were again sent to see what they could draw from him; but he was sullen, and after he had answered to three of the Articles, denying some Particulars, and excusing others, he refused to go any further. The Business was next brought into the House of Lords: The Judges and the King's Council delivered their Opinions, That the Articles objected to him were Treason. Then the Evidence was given, upon which, the whole House past the Bill, the Protector only withdrawing: They dispatched it in two Days. In the House of Commons many argued against Attainders without a Trial, or bringing the Party to make his Answers. But a Message was sent from the King, desiring them to proceed as the Lords had begun. So the Lords that had given Evidence against him in their own House, were sent down to the Commons: Upon which, they past the Bill; and the Royal Assent was given the fifth of *March*: And afterwards, the King being presst to it by the Council, gave orders for the Execution, which was done the twentieth of *March*. This was the only Cure that his Ambition seemed capable of: Yet it was thought against Nature, that one Brother should fall by the Hand of another: And the Attainting a Man without hearing him, was condemned, as contrary to Natural Justice; so the Protector suffered almost as much by his Death, as he could have done by his Life.

1549.

A new Visitation.

The Laity and Clergy both gave the King Subsidies, and so the Parliament was Prorogued. The first thing taken into Care, was the receiving the Act of Uniformity: Some Complaints were made of the Priests way of Officiating, that they did it with such a Tone of Voice, that the People did not

not understand what was said, no more then when the Prayers were said in *Latin*; so this Temper was found: Prayers, were ordered to be said in Parish-Churches in a plain Voice, but in Cathedrals the old way was still kept up, as agreeing better with the Musick used in them: Though this seemed not very decent in the Confession of Sins, nor in the *Litany*, where a simple Voice, gravely uttered, agreed better with those Devotions, than those Cadences and Musical Notes do. Others continued to use all the Gesticulations, Crossings and Kneeling, that they had formerly been accustomed to: The People did also continue the use of their Beads: Which were brought in by *Peter Hermit*, in the eleventh Century, by which the repeating the Angel's Salutation to the Virgin, was made a great part of their Devotion, and was ten times said for one *Pater Noster*. Instructions were given to the Visitors to put all these down in a new Visitation, and to enquire if any Priests continued to drive a Trade by Trentals or Masses for departed Souls. Order was also given, that there should be no Private Masses at Altars in the Corners of Churches, and that there should be but one Communion in a Day, unless it were in great Churches, and at high Festivals, in which they were allowed to have one Communion in the Morning, and another at Noon. The Visitors made their Report, That they found the Book of Common-Prayer received universally over all the Kingdom, only Lady *Mary* continued to have Mass said according to the abrogated Forms: Upon this, the Council wrote to her to conform to the Laws; for the nearer she was to the King in Blood, she was so much the more obliged to give a good Example to the rest of the Subjects. She refused to comply with their Desires, and sent one to the Emperor for his Protection,

Book II. 1549.

Book II. tection; upon which, the Emperor preſſed the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, and they promiſed, that for
1549. ſome time ſhe ſhould be diſpenſed with. The Emperor pretended afterwards that they made him an abſolute Promiſe that ſhe ſhould never be more troubled about it, but they ſaid, it was only a Temporary Promiſe. A Match was alſo propoſed for her with the King of *Portugal*'s Brother, but it was let fall ſoon after. She refuſed to acknowledge the Laws made when the King was under Age, and carried her ſelf very high, for ſhe knew well that the Protector was then afraid of a War with *France*, and that made the Emperor's Alliance more neceſſary to *England*: Yet the Council ſent for the Officers of her Houſhold, and required them to let her know that the King's Authority was the ſame when he was a Child as at full Age; and that it was now lodged in them, and though asthey were ſingle Perſons, they were all inferior to Her, yet as they were the King's Council, ſhe was bound to obey them, eſpecially when they executed the Law; which all Subjects of what Rank ſoever, were bound to obey. Yet at preſent they durſt go no further, for fear of the Emperor's diſpleaſure: So it was reſolved to connive at her Maſs.

Diſputes concerning Chriſt's preſence in the Sacrament.

The Reformation of the greateſt Errours in Divine Worſhip being thus eſtabliſhed; *Cranmer* proceeded next to eſtabiſh a Form of Doctrine: the chief Point that hitherto was untouched, was the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, which the Prieſts magnified as the greateſt Myſtery of the Chriſtian Religion, and the chief priviledg of Chriſtians; with which the ſimple and credulous vulgar were mightily affected. The *Lutherans* received that which had been for ſome Ages the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church, that in the Sacraments

ments there was both Bread and Wine, and also the Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. The *Helvetians* look'd on it only as a Commemoration of the Death of Christ. The Princes of *Germany* were at great pains to have these reconciled, in which *Bucer* had laboured with great Industry: But *Luther* being a Man of harsh temper, did not easily bear contradiction, and was too apt to assume, in effect, that Infallibility to himself, which he condemned in the Pope. Some took a middle way, and asserted a Real Presence, but it was not easy to understand what was meant by that Expression, unless it was a real application of Christ's Death; so that the meaning of *Really* was *Effectually*. But though *Bucer* followed this method, *Peter Martyr* did in his Lectures declare plainly for the *Helvetians*. So Dr. *Smith*, and some others, intended publickly to oppose and affront him; and challenged him to a Dispute about it, which he readily accepted, on these Conditions, That the King's Council should first approve of it, and that it should be managed in Scripture-Terms: For the strength of those Doctors lay in a nimble managing of those barbarous and unintelligible Terms of the Schools, which though they sounded high, yet really they had no sense under that: So all the Protestants resolved to dispute in Scripture-Terms, which seemed more proper in Matters of Divinity, than the Metaphysical Language of School-men. The Council having appointed Dr. *Cox*, and some others, to preside in the Dispute, Dr. *Smith* went out of the way, and a little after fled out of *England*: But before he went, he wrote a very mean submission to *Cranmer*: Other Doctors disputed with *Peter Martyr* concerning Transubstantiation, but that had the common fate of all publick Disputes, for both sides gave out that they

Book II. 1549.

Book II. they had the better. At the same time there were also disputes at *Cambridge*, which were moderated by *Ridley*, that was sent down thither by the Council. He had fallen on *Bertrams* Book of the Sacrament, and wondred much to find so celebrated a Writer in the ninth Century, engage so plainly against the Corporal Presence: This disposed him to think that at that time it was not the received belief of the Church: He communicated the matter to *Cranmer*, and they together made great Collections out of the Fathers on this Head, and both wrote concerning it.

1549.

Arguments against the Corporal Presence.

The Substance of their Arguments was, That as Christ called the Cup *the Fruit of the Vine*, so St. *Paul* called the other Element *Bread*, after the Consecration; which shews that their Natures were not changed. Christ speaking to *Jews*, and substituting the Eucharist in the room of the Paschal Lamb, used such Expressions as had been customary among the *Jews* on that occasion; who called the *Lamb* the *Lord's Passover*; which could not be meant literally, since the *Passover* was the Angel's passing over their Houses, when the First-born of the *Egyptians* were killed: So it being a Commemoration of that; was called the *Lord's Passover*; and in the same sense did Christ call the Bread *his Body*: Figurative Expressions being ordinary in Scripture, and not improper in Sacraments, which may be called Figurative Actions. It was also appointed for a Remembrance of Christ, and that supposes absence. The Elements were also called by Christ his *Body broken*, and his *Blood shed*; so it is plain, they were his Body, not as it is glorified in Heaven, but as it suffered on the Cross: And since the Scriptures speak of Christ's continuance in Heaven till the last Day, from thence they inferred, that he was not Corporally

porally preſent. And it was ſhewed, that the *eating Chriſt's Fleſh*, mentioned by St. *John*, was not to be underſtood of the Sacrament, ſince of every one that did eat, it is ſaid, that he has *Eternal Life in him.* So that was to be underſtood only of receiving Chriſt's Doctrine, and he himſelf ſhewed it was to be meant ſo, when he ſaid, that *the Fleſh profited nothing, but his Words were Spirit and Life.* So that all this was according to Chriſt's ordinary way of teaching in Parables. Many other Arguments were brought, from the nature of a Body, to prove that it could not be in more places than one at once, and that it was not in a place after the manner of a Spirit, but was always extended. They found alſo that the Fathers had taught, that the Elements were ſtill Bread and Wine, and were the Types, the Signs, and Figures of Chriſt's Body, not only according to *Tertullian*, and St. *Auſtin*, but to the Ancient Liturgies, both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches. But that on which they built moſt, was, that *Chryſoſtome*, *Gelaſius*, and *Theodoret*, arguing againſt thoſe who ſaid that the Human Nature in Chriſt was ſwallowed up by its Union to his Godhead: They illuſtrated the contrary thus; As in the Sacrament, the Elements are united to the Body of Chriſt, and yet continue to be the ſame that they were formerly, both in Subſtance, Nature, and Figure; So the Humanity was not deſtroyed by its Union with the *Word.* From which it appeared, that it was then the received Opinion, That the Elements were not changed; and therefore all thoſe high Expreſſions in *Chryſoſtome*, or *Others*, were only Strains and Figures of Eloquence, to raiſe the Devotion of the People higher in that holy Action. But upon thoſe Expreſſions the following Ages built that Opinion,

Book II. 1549.

Book II. 1549. which agreeing ſo well with the Deſigns of the Prieſts, for eſtabliſhing the Authority of that Order, which by its Character was qualified for the greateſt Performance that ever was; no wonder, they took all imaginable pains to infuſe it into the belief of the World, and thoſe dark Ages were diſpoſed to believe every thing ſo much the rather the more incredible that it appeared to be. In the ninth Century, many of the greateſt Men of that Age wrote againſt it, and none of them were for that condemned as Hereticks: The contrary Opinion was then received in *England*, as appeared by one of the *Saxon* Homilies that was read on *Eaſter-Day*, in which, many of *Bertram*'s words were put. But it was generally received in the eleventh and twelfth Century, and fully eſtabliſhed in the fourth Council in the *Lateran*. At firſt it was believed that the whole Loaf was turned into one entire Body, ſo that in the diſtribution every one had a Joint given him; and according to that Conceit, it was given out that it did often bleed, and was turned into pieces of Fleſh. But this ſeemed an undecent way of handling Chriſt's glorified Body, ſo the Schoolmen did invent a more ſeemly Notion, That a Body might be in a place after the manner of a Spirit, ſo that in every Crumb there was an entire Chriſt; which though it appeared very hard to be conceived, yet it generally prevailed, and then the Miracles fitted for the former Opinion were no more heard of, but new ones agreeing to this Hypotheſis were ſet up in their ſtead. So dexterouſly did the Prieſts deceive the World: And becauſe a mouthful of Bread, or a draught of Wine, would have been ſhrewd temptations to make the People think it was really Bread and Wine that they got; therefore as the Cup was taken away, ſo inſtead of Bread,

Bread, a thin Wafer was given, to make the People more eafily imagine, that it was only the Accidents of Bread that were received by them. Upon theſe Grounds did *Cranmer* and *Ridley* go in this Matter. Book II. 1549.

There were ſome Anabaptiſts at this time in *England*, that were come over out of *Germany*: Of them there were two ſorts, ſome only objected to the Baptizing of Children, and to the manner of it by Sprinkling, and not by Dipping: Others held many Opinions, that had been anciently condemned as Hereſies: They had raiſed a cruel War in *Germany*, and ſet up a new King at *Munſter*, but all theſe carried the Name of *Anabaptiſts* from that of Infant-baptiſm, though it was one of the mildeſt Opinions that they held. Some of theſe came over to *England*, ſo a Commiſſion was granted to ſome Biſhops and others, to ſearch them out, and to proceed againſt them. Several Perſons were brought before them, and did abjure their Errors, which were, "That there was not "a Trinity of Perſons; that Chriſt was not God, "and took not Fleſh of the Virgin; and that a "Regenerate Man could not ſin. One *Joan Bocher*, called *Joan* of *Kent*, denied that Chriſt took Fleſh of the ſubſtance of his Mother; ſhe was out of meaſure vain and conceited of her Notions, and rejected all the Inſtruction that was offered her with ſcorn: So ſhe was condemned as an obſtinate Heretick, and delivered to the ſecular Arm. But it was very hard to perſwade the King to ſign the Warrant for her Execution; he thought it was an inſtance of the ſame Spirit of Cruelty, for which the Reformers condemned the Papiſts: It was hard to condemn one to be burnt for ſome wild Opinions, eſpecially when they ſeemed to flow from a diſturbed Brain; but *Cran-*

Anabaptiſts in England.

Two were burnt.

Book II. 1549. *mer* perſwaded him, that he being God's Lieutenant was bound in the firſt place to puniſh thoſe Offences committed againſt God: He alſo alledged the Laws of *Moſes*, for puniſhing Blaſphemers, and he thought Errors that ſtruck immediately againſt the Apoſtles Creed, ought to be capitally puniſhed. Theſe things did rather ſilence than ſatisfy the young King: He ſigned the Warrant with Tears in his Eyes, and ſaid to *Cranmer*, that ſince he reſigned up himſelf in that Matter to his Judgment, if he ſinned in it, it ſhould lie at his Door. This ſtruck the Archbiſhop: And both *He*, and *Ridley* took her into their Houſes, and tried what Reaſon, joined with Gentleneſs could do; But ſhe was ſtill more and more Inſolent, ſo at laſt ſhe was burnt, and ended her Life very indecently, breaking out often in Jeers, and Reproaches, and was looked on as a Perſon fitter for *Bedlam*, than a Stake. Some time after that, a Dutch-man, *George van Parre*, was alſo condemned and burnt, for denying the Divinity of Chriſt, and ſaying, That the Father only was God. He had led a very exemplary Life, both for Faſting, Devotion, and a good Converſation, and ſuffered with extraordinary compoſedneſs of Mind. Theſe things caſt a great blemiſh on the Reformers: It was ſaid, they only condemned Cruelty, when it was exerciſed on themſelves, but were ready to practiſe it, when they had Power. The Papiſts made great uſe of this afterwards in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and what *Cranmer* and *Ridley* ſuffered in her Time, was thought a juſt Retaliation on them from that Wiſe Providence, that diſpenſes all things juſtly to all Men. For the other ſort of Anabaptiſts, no Severities were uſed againſt them, but ſeveral Books were written to juſtify Infant-baptiſm; and the Practice of the Church

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so early begun, and so universally spread, was thought a good Plea, especially being grounded on such Arguments in Scripture, as did demonstrate, at least, the Lawfulness of it. Book II. 1549.

Another sort of People was much complained of, who built so much on the received Opinion of Predestination, that they thought they might live as they pleased; since nothing could resist an absolute Decree: Nor did those who had advanced that Opinion, know well how to hinder People from making such Inferences from it: All they did, was to warn them, not to pry too much into those Secrets; But if the Opinion was true, there was no need of much prying to make such Conclusions from it. This had a very ill effect on the Lives of many, who thought they were set loose from all Obligations: And that was indeed the greatest Scandal of the Reformation. The Preachers were aware of it, and apprehensive of the Judgments of God, that would follow on it; Of which they gave the Nation free warning. The Doctrin of Predestination abused.

At this time a sort of Contagion of Rage run over all the Commons of *England*. The Nobility and Gentry finding more advantage by the Trade of Wool, than by their Corn, did generally inclose their Grounds, and turn them to Pasture; And so kept but few Servants, and took large Portions of their Estates into their own Hands: And yet the numbers of the People increased, Marriage being allowed to all; the abrogation of many Holydays, and the putting down of Pilgrimages, gave them also more time to work. So the Commons feared to be reduced to great Slavery. Some proposed an *Agrarian* Law, for regulating this, and the King himself wrote a Discourse about it, that there might be some equality in the division of the Soil among the Tenants. The Protector Tumults in several parts of *England*.

Book II. was a great Friend to the Commons, and complained much of the Oppreſſion of the Landlords.

1549. There was a Commiſſion iſſued out, to enquire concerning Incloſures and Farms, and whether thoſe who purchaſed the Abbey-Lands, and were obliged to keep up Hoſpitality, performed it, or not? and what encouragement they gave to Husbandry? but this turned to nothing. So the Commons roſe every where, yet in moſt of the Inland-Countries, they were eaſily diſperſed; and it was promiſed that their Grievances ſhould be redreſſed. The Protector, againſt the Councils Mind, ſet out a Proclamation againſt all new Incloſures, and for indemnifying the People, for what was paſt. Commiſſioners were alſo ſent every where, to hear and determinate all Complaints, but the Power that was given to them, was ſo arbitrary, that the Landlords called it an Invaſion of Property, when their Rights were thus ſubjected to the pleaſures of ſuch Men. The Commons underſtanding that the Protector was ſo favourable to them, were thereby more encouraged: And it was afterwards objected to him, that the Convulſions *England* fell in, ſoon after, was chiefly occaſioned by his ill Conduct; in which he was the more blamed, becauſe he acted againſt the Mind of the greateſt part of the Council. In *Devonſhire*, the Inſurrection was more formidable; the Superſtition of the Preiſts joyning with the Rage of the Commons, ſo they became quickly Ten thouſand ſtrong. The Lord *Ruſſel* was ſent againſt them with a ſmall Force, and was ordered to try, if the Matter could be compoſed without Blood: But *Arundel*, a Man of Quality, commanding the Rebels, they were not a looſe Body of People, eaſily diſſipated. They ſent their Demands to Court, "That the "Old Service and Ceremonies might be ſet up "again;

The Rebellion in *Devonſhire*.

June 10.

" again; that the Act of the six Articles, and the Book II.
" Decrees of General Councils might be again in
" force: That the Bible in *English* should be call'd 1549.
" in; that Preachers should pray for the Souls in
" Purgatory; that Cardinal *Pool* should be resto-
" red; that the half of the Abbey-lands should be re-
" stored, to found two *Abbeys* in every County; and
" that Gentlemen of 100 Marks a Year, might
" have but one Servant: And they desired a Safe Conduct for their Chief Leaders, in order to the Redress of their particular Grievances: Afterwards they moderated their Desires only to Points of Religion. *Cranmer* writ a large Answer to these; shewing the Novelty and Superstition of *those Rites and Ceremonies*, and of that whole way of Worship of which they were so fond: And that the Amendments and Changes had been made according to the Scriptures, and the Customs of the Primitive Church: And that their being fond of a Worship, which they understood not, and being desirous to be kept still in Ignorance, without the Scriptures, shewed their Priests had greater power over them, than the common Reason of all Mankind had: As for the *Six Articles*, that Act had never past, if the King had not gone in Person to the Parliament, and argued for it: Yet he soon saw his Error, and was slack in executing it. After that there was a high threatning Answer sent them in the King's Name, charging them for their Rebellion and blind Obedience to their Priests. In it the King's Authority, under Age, was largely set forth; for by the pretence of the King's Minority, the People generally were made believe, that their rising in Arms, was not Rebellion. In Conclusion, they were earnestly invited to submit to the King's Mercy, as others had done, whom the King had not only pardoned, but had redressed their just

Book II. Grievances. At the same time the like Spirit of Rage inflamed the Commons in *Norfolk*; they pretended nothing of Religion, but only to destroy the Gentry, and put new Counsellors about the King: They were led by one *Ket* a Tanner, and in a few Days grew to be *Twenty thousand*. They encamped near *Norwich*, and committed great Outrages: *Parker*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was in among them, and with great freedom inveighed against their Rebellion and Cruelty, and warned them of the Judgments of God that would fall on them, for which he was in great danger of his Life. *Ket* was now their Prince, and in imitation of the ancient *Druids*, he did Justice upon Complaints brought before him, under an Oak, called from thence the *Oak of Reformation*. The Marques of *Northampton* was sent against them, with Orders to keep at a distance, and cut off their Provisions. There was at the same time a Rising likewise in *Yorkshire*, where the Commons being incouraged by some pretended Prophecies, run together, and committed Acts of great barbarity on some Gentlemen. The *French* King hearing of all this, resolved to take his advantage, and regain *Bulloigne*: Three Days before he marched with his Army, the *English* Ambassador pressing him, upon the Intimations that were given him of his Designs: He assured him, on the Faith of a Gentleman, that he would not begin a War, till he had first given warning. But many Princes reckon it a part of their Prerogative, to be exempted from such Ties, by which only poor Subjects ought to be fettered. All these things falling upon the Government at once; it may be easily imagined they were under no small Consternation. A Fast was proclaimed at Court, where *Cranmer* preached with great freedom and vehemence: He laid out be-

1549. And in *Norfolk*.

The *French* begin a War

before them their vicious and ill Lives, particularly of thoſe who pretended a love to the Goſpel; and ſet before them the Judgments of God that they might look for, and enlarged on the freſh Example of the Calamities of *Germany*; and intimated the ſad Apprehenſions he had of ſome terrible Stroke, if they did not repent and amend their Lives. 1549.

The Rebels in *Devonſhire* beſieged *Exeter*: The Citizens reſiſted their Aſſaults, but could not ſo eaſily reſiſt the Aſſaults that Hunger made on them, for they were not provided for a Seige. They were at laſt reduced to great Extremities, which made the Lord *Ruſſel*, after he had got ſuch Supplies, as he judged neceſſary, reſolve to fall upon them. They poſſeſſed themſelves of a Bridge behind him, both to incloſe him, and to hinder others from joining with him; but he marched back, and did quickly beat them from it, with the loſs of 600 of their Men; And by that Eſſay he perceived how eaſy a Work it would be to diſperſe them: He upon that marched forward to *Exeter*; and beat the Rebels from a Bridge, that opened his way to their Camp, killing a 1000 of them: Upon which they raiſed the Seige, and retired in great diſorder to *Lanceſton*: He purſued them, as long as they kept in a Body, and great numbers of them were killed, ſome of the Leaders and Prieſts were taken and hanged. So happily was that Rebellion ſubdued, without any loſs on the King's ſide. But the Marqueſs of *Northampton* was not ſo ſucceſsful in *Norfolk*: He marched into *Norwich*: The Rebels having a great Party in the Town, which was a place of no ſtrength, fell in upon him next Day, and drove him out of it: 100 of his Men were killed, and thirty taken Priſoners. Upon this they were much lifted

The Rebels every where routed.

Book II. 1549. lifted up, but the Earl of *Warwick* coming thither with 6000 Men, that were prepared to be ſent to *Scotland*, they, after ſome Skirmiſhes with him, were forced to retire, for they had waſted all the Country about, ſo that their Proviſions failed them: But *Warwick* followed them cloſe, and killed great numbers, and diſperſed them. *Ket* and ſome of their Leaders were taken, and hanged in Chains. The News of this going to *Yorkſhire*, the Rebels there that had not exceeded 3000 accepted the Offer of Pardon, that was ſent them; and ſome of the more Factious, that were animating them to make new Commotions, were taken and hanged. On the 21 of *Auguſt*, the Protector publiſhed a general Pardon, in the King's Name, of all that had been done before that Day. Many of the Council oppoſed this, and judged it better to keep the Commons under the Laſh; but the Protector thought, that as long as ſuch Members continued in ſuch Fears, it would be eaſy to raiſe new Diſorders: So he reſolved, though without the Majority of the Council, to go through with it. This diſguſted the Council extreamly, who thought he took too much upon him.

A Viſitation of *Cambridg.*

A Viſitation of *Cambridge* followed ſoon after this. *Ridley* was the chief of the Viſitors: When he found that a Deſign was laid to ſuppreſs ſome Colledges, under pretence of uniting them to others; and to convert ſome Fellowſhips that were provided for Divines, to the ſtudy of the Civil Law, he refuſed to go along in that with the other Viſitors; and particularly oppoſed the ſuppreſſion of *Clare*-Hall, which they began with. He ſaid, the Church was already too much robbed, and yet ſome Mens ravenouſneſs was not ſatisfyed. It ſeemed the Deſign was laid, to drive both Religion and Learning out of the Land; therefore he deſired

leave

leave to be gone. The Viſitors complained of him to the Protector, and imputed his concern for *Clare*-Hall to his partiality for the North, where he was born, that being a Houſe for the Northern Counties. Upon that, the Protector wrote him a chiding Letter: But he anſwered it with the freedom that became a Biſhop, who was reſolved to ſuffer all things, rather than to ſin againſt his Conſcience: And the Protector was ſo well ſatisfied with him, that the Colledge was preſerved. There was at this time an end put to a very fooliſh Controverſy, that had occaſioned ſome heat, concerning the pronunciation of the *Greek* Tongue; which many uſed more ſuitably to an *Engliſh* than a *Greek* Accent. *Cheek* being the Profeſſor of *Greek*, had taught the truer Rules of Pronunciation, but *Gardiner* was an Enemy to every thing that was new, and ſo he oppoſed it much in King *Henry*'s Time: And *Cheek* was made to leave the Chair: But both he, and Sir *Tho. Smith* wrote in Vindication of his Rules, with ſo much Learning, that all People wondred to ſee ſo much brought out upon ſo ſlight an Occaſion; but *Gardiner* was not a Man to be wrought on by Reaſon. Now the Matter was ſetled, and the new way of pronunciation took place, and that the rather, becauſe the Patrons of it were in ſuch Power, the one being the King's Tutor, and the other made Secretary of State: And that *Gardiner*, who oppoſed it, was now in the *Tower*. So great an influence has Greatneſs, in ſupporting the moſt ſpeculative and indifferent Things. Book II. 1549.

Bonner was now brought in trouble: It was not eaſy to know how to deal with him, for he obeyed every Order that was ſent him; and yet it was known that he ſecretly hated and condemned all that was done; and as often as he could declare *Bonner's* Proceſs.

that

Book II. that ſafely, he was not wanting by ſuch ways to preſerve his Intereſt with the Papiſts: And though
1549. he obeyed the Orders of Council, yet he did it in ſo remiſs a manner, that it was viſible that it went
Auguſt. againſt the grain. So he was called before the Council, and charged with ſeveral particulars, That whereas he uſed to officiate himſelf on the great Feſtivals, he had not done it ſince the New Service was ſet out; That he took no care to repreſs Adultery, and that he never Preached. So they ordered him to officiate every Feſtival, to Preach once a Quarter, and to begin within three Weeks, and Preach at St. *Pauls*; and to be preſent at every Sermon when he was in Health, and to proceed ſeverely againſt thoſe who withdrew from the new Service, and againſt Adulterers. They required him to ſet forth the Heinouſneſs of Rebellion, and the Nature of true Religion, and the Indifference of outward Ceremonies; and particularly to declare, that the King's Authority was the ſame, and as much to be obeyed before he was of Age as after. On the firſt of *September* he Preach'd; he ſaid nothing of the Power of Kings under Age, and ſpoke but little to the other Points, but enlarged much on the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament. *Hooper*, and *Latimer*, two of his Hearers, informed againſt him. So a Commiſſion was granted to *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, the two Secretaries of State, and *May* Dean of St. *Pauls*, to examine that Matter, and to impriſon, or deprive him, as they ſhould ſee cauſe for it: They were alſo authorized to proceed in the ſummary way of the Spiritual Courts. He was ſummoned to *Lambeth*, where he carried himſelf with great diſreſpect and diſingenuity towards the Delegates, and gave the Informers very foul language; and in his whole diſcourſe, he behaved himſelf like

one

one that was disturbed in his Brain. When the Commission was read, he made a Protestation against it, reserving to himself Power to except to divers things in it. He said the Informers were Hereticks, and only prosecuted him, because he had taught the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. At the next meeting Secretary *Smith* was there, who was not present at the first: So upon that account, *Bonner* protested against him; he also charged Heresy on his Accusers, who were thereby under Excommunication, and so not capable to appear in any Court. He denied that any Injunctions had been given him under the King's Hand or Signet; he said he had preached against the late Rebels, which implied that the King's Power was compleat, though he was under Age. It was answered to this, that the Court might proceed *ex Officio*, without Informers: And that the Injunctions concerning the Heads of which he was required to treat in his Sermon, were read to him by one of the Secretaries, and were given him by the Protector, and they were afterwards called for, and that Article about the King's Power under Age, was by Order of Council, added; and the Paper was delivered to him by Secretary *Smith*. At a third appearance, the Informers offered to vindicate themselves of the Charge of Heresy; but after some scurrilous language given them by *Bonner*, he was called upon to answer to the main Business, which was, his saying nothing of the King's Power under Age: to this he said, he had prepared Notes about it, both from the Instances in Scripture, of *Solomon*, *Joash*, and *Manasses*, of *Josiah* and *Joakim*, that reigned under Age; as also several Instances of the *English* Story, as *Henry* the Third, *Edward* the Third, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fifth; but he pretended

Book II. 1548.

these

Book II. 1548. these things had escaped his Memory; and a long Account of the defeat of the Rebels being sent to him by the Council, with an Order to read it, had put him in some confusion, and that the Book in which he had put his Notes, fell from him; for which he appealed to his Chaplains, whom he had imployed to gather for him the Names of those Kings who had reigned before they were of Age. But this did not satisfy the Court, so they proceeded to examine Witnesses, whom *Bonner* intangled all he could with Interrogatories, and the Niceties of the Canon-Law. *Bonner* built his main Defence on this, that in the Paper which the Protector gave him, that Article concerning the King's Age was not mentioned, but was afterwards added by *Smith*; so that he was not bound to obey it: But it was proved that the whole Council ordered that Addition to be made. *Smith* had treated him somewhat sharply, for his carriage was very provoking; upon that, he renewed his former Protestation against him, and refused to look on him as his Judge, since he had declared himself so partial against him: He complained, that *Smith* had compared him to Thieves and Traytors. *Smith* said it was visible he acted as they did: To which *Bonner* answered, that as he was Secretary of State he honoured him, but as he was Sir *Thomas Smith*, he *lied*, and he *defied him*. And being threatned with Imprisonment, he seemed not much concerned at it; he said, he had a few Goods, a poor Carcase, and a Soul; the two former were in their Power, but he would take care of the latter. And upon that he appealed to the King, and would not answer any more, unless *Smith* should withdraw. For that contempt he was sent to the *Marshalsea*; but as he was carried away, he broke out into great passion, both against *Smith* and *Cranmer*.

Being

Being called again before them, he adhered to his former Appeal, and ſome new Matter being brought againſt him, he refuſed to anſwer. Great Endeavours were uſed to perſwade him to ſubmit, Promiſes were made him of gentler uſage for the future; but he continued obſtinate, and inſtead of retracting, he renewed his Appeal. So on the firſt of *October*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Smith*, and *May*, pronounced Sentence of Deprivation, becauſe he had not obeyed the Orders of the Protector and Council, nor declared the King's Power while he was under Age. He was ſent back to Priſon till the King ſhould give further Order, and a large Record was made of his whole Deportment during the Proceſs, and put in the Regiſter of the See of *London*, which he took no care to deface when he was afterwards reſtored. This was much cenſured, as at beſt a great ſtretch of Law, if not plainly contrary to it. Some complained, that Lay-men concurred in ſuch a Sentence: But it was ſaid, this was no Spiritual Cenſure, for he was not degraded, but only deprived of his Biſhopriek; and he had taken a Commiſſion for holding it during the King's Pleaſure; and ſo thoſe that were Commiſſioned by the King might well deprive him, ſince he held it ſo precariouſly. It was alſo ſaid, that *Conſtantine* had appointed Triers for hearing the Complaints made of ſome Biſhops; and they examined the Buſineſs of *Cecilian* and the *Donatiſts*, upon an Appeal from ſome Synods, that had before judged that Matter. That ſame Emperor did alſo, by his own Authority, turn out the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*: And though the Orthodox Party complained of his doing it upon the falſe ſuggeſtions of the *Arians*, yet they did not deny his Authority in ſuch Caſes:

Book II. 1549.

And Deprivation.

And

Book II. 1549. And it was ordinary for the Emperors to appoint the Bishops that followed their Court to judge some other Bishops, which was not done Canonically, but by the Emperor's Authority. But to the Matter of the Sentence, it was also said, that it was hard to deprive *Bonner* for an Omission, that might be only a defect of his Memory, as he pretended it was, though few believed that. Upon the whole Matter, it was visible that it had been resolved to turn him out on the first Occasion that could be found, and that they took hold of him on this disadvantage; and that the Fault was rather aggravated for his sake, than he deprived for the Fault, which would have been more gently past over in another; but he had been fierce and cruel, and so was much hated, and little pitied. He remained a Prisoner till Queen *Mary*'s Reign, but continued to behave himself more like a Glutton than a Divine; for he sent about to his Friends to furnish him well with Puddings and Pears, and gave them all to the Devil that did not supply him liberally: Such Curses were strange Acts of Episcopal Jurisdiction; yet they were mild, compared to those he gave out when he was again restored to his See in the next Reign, by which he condemned so many Innocents to the Fire.

Ill Success of the *English*.

The *English* Affairs in Foreign Parts went very unsuccessfully this Year, for when they were so distracted at Home, no wonder if both the *French* and *Scots* took advantage from thence. Most of the Forts about *Bulloigne* were taken by the *French*, but though those that commanded them, did, for their own excuse, pretend they were ill provided, yet the *French* Writers published that they were well stored. From these they came, and sat down before *Bulloigne*; and though the Plague broke into the

the *French* Camp, yet the Seige was not raiſed: The King left the Army under the Command of *Coligny*, the famous Admiral of *France*. He found the ſure way to take it, was to cut it off from Sea, and ſo to keep out Supplies: But the ſeveral attempts he made to do that proved unſucceſsful. The Winter that came on, forced him to raiſe the Seige, but he lodged a great part of his Army in the Forts about, ſo that it was in danger of being loſt next Year. In *Scotland* there was alſo a great turn; the Caſtle of *Broughty* was taken by the *Scots*, and the Garriſon almoſt wholly cut off. The *Engliſh* took care to provide *Hadington* well, expecting a Siege; but upon that the *Scots* let it alone; yet the charge of keeping it was ſo great, and the Country about it was ſo waſted, that all their Proviſions were to be ſent from *Berwick*, ſo that the Protector thought it more adviſeable to abandon it; and upon that, ſent Orders to the Garriſon to ſlight the Works, and come back to *England*. So that now the *Engliſh* had no place beyond the Borders, except *Lander*: and *Thermes* the *French* General ſat down before it, and if a Peace had not come, it had fallen into his Hands. The Protector had now no Foreign Ally to depend on but the Emperor; and little was to be expected from him, for he was ſo diſſatisfied with the Changes that had been made in the Matters of Religion, that they found his aſſiſtance was not to be truſted to. At this time the Emperor brought his Son to the *Netherlands*, that he might put him in poſſeſſion of thoſe Provinces; though the ſecret Conſiderations that made him do it ſo early, in thoſe Places where the Prince was not Elective, is not viſible. It was thought they inclined to ſhake off his Yoke; and that if the Emperor ſhould have then died, they would

Book II. 1549.

Book II. have put themſelves under *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand*'s Son, afterwards Emperor. It was ſome
1549. ſuch apprehenſion that moved *Charles* to make them Swear Obedience ſo early to his Son; and ſettle not only many Limitations on him in the matter of impoſing Taxes, and of not putting Strangers in places of Truſt, nor governing them by a Military Power, but make a ſpecial proviſion, that in caſe his Son ſhould break thoſe Rules, the Provinces ſhould not be bound to obey him any longer: Which was the chief ground both in Law and Conſcience, upon which they afterwards juſtified their ſhaking off his Yoke. *Charles*, that was born in thoſe parts, had a peculiar tenderneſs for them, and did perhaps fear that the rigid Councils of the *Spaniards* might prevail too much on his Son, which made him ſo careful to ſecure their Liberties; a rare inſtance of a Prince's Love for his People, by which he took ſuch care of their Rights, as to make their Tie of Obedience to his Son, to depend on his maintaining them inviolably. The Princes of *Germany* were now at the Emperor's Mercy, and ſaw no way to recover their Liberty but by the help of the *French* King: So there were Applications made to him, which he cheerfully entertained; only he was reſolved firſt to make himſelf Maſter of *Bulloigne*, and then to turn his whole Force towards *Germany*. Advertiſements were given of this to the Protector, upon which he entred into a deep Conſultation with his Friends what was fit to be done in ſo critical a Conjuncture; whether it was better to deliver up *Bulloigne* to the *French* by a Treaty, or to engage in a War to preſerve it; which being on the *French* ſide, would prove a much more chargeable War to the *Engliſh* than to the *French*; and this was of very dangerons Conſequence, when Affairs

fairs were in ſo unſetled a Condition at home; ill ſucceſs, which was like to be the event of ſuch a War, would turn on him that had the chief Administration of Affairs: So both regard to the Publick, and to the eſtabliſhing his private Fortune, which could not be done in time of War, without drawing much Envy on him, inclined him to deliver up *Bulloigne*. But his Enemies ſaw that the continuance of the War was like to ruin him, whereas a General Peace would put the Nation wholly in his Hands; and therefore they who were the Majority in the Council, ſet themſelves againſt all motions for a Treaty; and ſaid, it would be a lamentable reproach on the Government, if ſuch a place as *Bulloigne* were ſold. Book II 1549.

Paget gave his Opiuion in Writing, in which, after he had, with great Judgment, ballanced the Affairs of *Europe*, he concluded, that the reſtoring the Liberty of *Germany*, and the bearing down the Emperor's Greatneſs, was at preſent to be preferred to all other things, and that could not be done without a Conjunction with *France*, and that was to be purſued by the Mediation of the *Venetians*. *Thomas*, a Clerk of the Council, and much imployed in Foreign Affairs, was of another mind: He thought it was very diſhonourable to deliver up the late Conqueſts in *France*; therefore he propoſed the caſting themſelves on the Emperor, that ſo ſome time might be gained: They knew the Emperor would not be hearty, unleſs they would promiſe to return to the *Roman* Religion; but he thought that was to be done in ſuch an extremity of Affairs; and when the preſent Difficulty was over, they might turn to other Councels. There was great danger in this, it would very much diſhearten the few Towns that refuſed to bear the Emperor's Yoke in *Germany*, and it would provoke the Em- Several Expedients propoſed.

Book II. ror more againſt them afterwards, if he ſhould find that he had been deceived by them: he alſo 1549. propoſed that in order to the imbroiling of *Scotland*, ſome ſhould be imployed to perſwade the Governour to aſpire to the Crown, and that he ſhould be aſſured of the aſſiſtance of *England*, for this would ſeparate that Nation from the Intereſts of *France*.

The Emperor refuſes his aſſiſtance

The Iſſue of theſe Conſultations, was firſt, the ſending over *Paget* to the Emperor, to try what might be expected from him. His publick Inſtructions were to obtain an Explanation of ſome ambiguous Words in the former Treaty, and a Ratification of it by Prince *Philip*, and to adjuſt ſome Differences in the matter of Trade: But his ſecret Inſtructions were to ſee, if the Emperor would include *Bulloigne* in the League Defenſive, and ſo protect it: Or, if that could not be obtained, he was ordered to try, whether the Emperor would take *Bulloigne* into his Hands, and what Recompence he would give for it; but this he was ordered to propoſe as a Motion of his own. The Emperor ſhifted him off for ſome time by Delays, and pretended that the carrying his Son about from Town to Town, making them Swear Obedience, took him up ſo, that till that was over, he could not receive his Propoſitions. But the Progreſs of the *French* about *Bulloigne*, made *Paget* impatient; ſo the Biſhop of *Arras*, and the Emperor's other Miniſters were appointed to treat with him. They at firſt treated of ſome differences between the Courts of Admiralty of both ſides, and propoſed ſome Expedients for adjuſting them: For the Confirmation of the Treaty, it was offered, that the Prince ſhould do it, but *Paget* moved likewiſe, that it might be confirmed by the States. It was anſwered, that the Emperor would never ſue to his Subjects

Subjects to confirm his Treaties: He had fifteen or sixteen Parliaments, and would be in a very uneasy condition, if all these must know the Secrets of his Negotiations: But since the King of *England* was under Age, it was more reasonable for them to demand a Ratification from his Parliament. *Paget* answered, the King's Power was the same at all Ages, and a Ratification under the Great Seal did oblige him as much, as if he had made the Treaty himself: And objected, that their last Treaty with *France*, was ratified by the Assembly of the States. To this they answered, that the Prerogative of the Kings of *France*, was so limitted, that they could not alienate any thing which belonged to the Crown, without Consent of the Parliament of *Paris*, and of the States; but the Emperor had a more unlimitted Power in making Treaties. As for the Business of *Bulloigne*, the Bishop of *Arras* said, it was taken after the Emperor's Treaty with *England*, and so was not included in it; nor could the Emperor comprehend it within it, without breach of his Faith and Treaties with *France*, which was so contrary to the Emperor's Honour, that it could not be done. For the Honour of a Prince is a good excuse, when he has no mind to engage in a deceitful or unjust War; but it is often forgotten, when the Circumstances are more favourable. *Paget*, after several other Conferences, found there was nothing more to be expected of the Emperor: So he returned back to *England*. It was upon that proposed in Council, whether since by the Treaty with *France*, *Bulloigne* was to be delivered up within a few Years, it were not better to prevent a new War and a Siege, the issue of which was like to prove very dangerous, and to enter into a Treaty for doing it presently; and if at the same time it were not more adviseable

Book II. 1549.

Book II. to make an end of the War in *Scotland*, since there was no possibility of compassing the Marriage, for which it was first begun.

1549. A Faction against the Protector.

Upon this, all the Protector's Enemies took off the Mask, and declared themselves against it. The Earl of *Southampton*, and the Earl of *Warwick* were the chief Sticklers; the one hated him for turning him out of his Office, and the other hoped to be the chief Man in Business if he should fall. Many things concurred to raise the Protector many Enemies, his Partiality to the Commons provoked the Gentry; his cutting off his Brother's Head, and building a Magnificent Palace in the *Strand*, upon the Ruins of some Bishops Houses and Churches, and that in a time both of War and Plague, disgusted the People. The Clergy hated him, not only for his promoting the Changes made in Religion, but for his possessing himself of so many of the Bishops best Mannors: His entertaining Foreign Troops, both *Germans* and *Italians*, though done by consent of the Council, yet gave a general distast: And that great Advancement he was raised to, wrought much, both on himself and others; for it raised his Pride, as much as it provoked the Envy of others: The Privy Counsellors complained, that he was become so Arbitrary in his Proceedings, that he little regarded the opposition that was made by the Majority of the Council, to any of his Designs. All these things concurred to beget him many Enemies: And except *Cranmer*, who never forsook his Friend, and *Paget* and *Smith*, all turned against him: So they violently opposed the Proposition, for a Treaty with *France*: They also complained, that the Places about *Bulloigne* were lost by his carelessness, and by his not providing them well, and that he had recalled the Garrison out of *Hadington*; and they put him in mind of the Conditions,

tions, upon which he was first made Protector, by which he was limitted to do nothing but by their Advice; though he had since that, taken out a Patent, which cloathed him with a far greater Power. Upon *Paget*'s return, when it was visible, that nothing could be expected from the Emperor, he prest them much to consent to a Treaty with *France*: But it was said, that he had secretly directed *Paget* to procure no better Answer, that so he might be furnished with an excuse, for so dishonourable an Action, therefore they would not give way to it. Book II. 1549.

Which turns to a publick Breach.

The Protector carried the King to *Hampton* Court, and put many of his own Creatures about him, which increased the Jealousies; so Nine of the Privy Council met at *Ely*-House, and assumed to themselves the Authority of the Council; and Secretary *Petre* being sent by the King, to ask an account of their Meeting, instead of returning, joined himself to them. They made a large Declaration of the Protector's ill Government and bad Designs, and of his engaging the King to set his Hand to Letters, for raising Men, and for dispersing Seditious Papers; therefore they resolved to see to the safety of the King and Kingdom. Both the City of *London*, and the Lieutenant of the *Tower* declared for them: They also sent Letters all over *England*, desiring the assistance of the Nobility and Gentry. Seven more Privy Counsellors came and joined with them. They wrote to the King, complaining of the Protector's Obstinacy, and his refusing to hearken to their Counsels, though the late King had left the Government of his Person and Kingdom to them in common, and the Protector was advanced to that Dignity by them, upon Conditions which he had little regarded, therefore they desired the King would construe *October*.

Book II. well of their Intentions and Proceedings. The Protector had removed the King from *Hampton*
1749. Court, as being an open place, to *Windsor*, which had some more defence about it; and had armed some of his own Servants, and set them about the King's Person, which heightened the Jealousies of him; yet seeing himself abandoned by all his Friends, except a few, and finding the Party against him, was formed to such a strength, that it would be in vain to struggle any longer, he offer'd to submit himself to the Council: So a Proposition of a Treaty was set on foot; and the Lords at *London* were desired to send two of their number with their Propositions, and a Passport was sent them for their Safety. *Cranmer*, and the other two writ to the Council, to dispose them to an Agreement, and not to follow *Cruel Counsels*. Many false Reports, as is usual on such Occasions, were carried of the Protector, as if he had threatned, that if they intended to put him to Death, the King should die first, which served to increase the Prejudices against him. The Council writ to *Cranmer*, and *Paget*, charging them to look well to the King's Person, that he should not be removed from *Windsor*; and that the Duke of *Somerset*'s Servants might he put from him, and his own Sworn Servants admitted to wait: They also protested that they would proceed with all the moderation and favour towards the Duke of *Somerset*, that was possible. The Council understanding that all things were prepared as they had desired, sent first three of their number, to see that the Duke of *Somerset*, and some of his Creatures, *Smith*, *Stanhop*, *Thynne*, *Wolf* and *Cecil* should be confined to their Lodgings; and on the 12*th* of *October*, the whole Council went to *Windsor*, and made great Protestations of their Duty to the King, which he received

received favourably, and assured them, he took all that they had done in good part. Book II.

1549. The Protector's Fall.

The Duke of *Somerset*, with the rest of his Friends, except *Cecil*, who was presently inlarged, were sent to the *Tower*, and many Articles were objected to him, That he being made Protector, with this Condition, that he should do nothing but by the consent of the other Executors, had treated with Ambassadors apart; had made Bishops and Lord-Lieutenants without their knowledge; had held a Court of Requests in his House; had embased the Coin; had neglected the Places the King had in *France*; had incouraged the Commons in their late Insurrections; and had given out Commissions, and proclaimed a Pardon without their Consent: That he had animated the King against the rest of the Council, and had proclaimed them Traitors, and had put his own Servants armed about the King's Person. By these, it appears, the Crimes against him were the Effects of his sudden Exaltation, that had made him too much forget that he was a Subject, but that he had carried his Greatness with much Innocence, since no Acts of Cruelty, Rapine, or Bribery, were objected to him: For they were rather Errors and Weaknesses, than Crimes. His embasing the Coin was done upon a common mistake of weak Governments, who fly to that as their last Refuge in the necessity of their Affairs. In his Imprisonment, he set himself to the study of Moral Philosophy and Divinity, and writ a Preface to a Book of Patience, which had made great Impressions on him. His Fall was a great affliction to all that loved the Reformation, and that was increased, because they had no reason to trust much to the two chief Men of the Party against him, *Southampton* and *Warwick*: The one was a known Papist, and the other

Book II. other was looked on as a Man of no Religion: And both at the Emperor's Court, and in *France*, 1549. it was expected, that upon this Revolution, Matters of Religion would be again set back into the posture in which King *Henry* had left them. The Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* hoped to be discharged, and *Bonner* look'd to be re-established in his Bishoprick again, and all People began to fall off much from the new Service: But the Earl of *Warwick* finding the King was zealously addicted to the Reformation, quickly forsook the Popish Party, and seemed to be a mighty Promoter of that Work. A Court of Civilians was appointed to examine *Bonner*'s Appeal, and upon their Report the Council rejected it, and confirmed the Sentence that was past upon him.

The Emperor will not assist them.

But next, Foreign Affairs come under their care. They suspected that *Paget* had not dealt effectually with the Emperor, to assist them in the preservation of *Bulloigne*; so they sent over Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, to try what might be expected from him: They also took care of the Garrison, and both increased it, and supplied it well. *Cheyney* found the same Reception with the Emperor, and had the same Answer that *Paget* got. The Emperor prest him much that Matters of Religion might be again considered, and confest, till that were done, he could not assist them so effectually, as otherwise he would do: So now the Council found it necessary to apply to the Court of *France* for a Peace. The Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great discontent; he was neither restored to his Office of Chancellor, nor was he made one of the six Lords, that were appointed to have the Charge of the King's Person, this touched him so much, that he died not long after of Grief, as was believed.

A Session of Parliament.

In *November*, a Session of Parliament met: In which

which an Act was paſt, declaring it Treaſon to call any to the number of Twelve together, about any Matter of State, if being required, they did not diſperſe themſelves: Other Riotous Aſſemblies were alſo declared Felonious; the giving out of Prophecies concerning the King, or Council, was alſo made penal. Another Law was made againſt Vagabonds, the former Statute was repealed, as too ſevere, and Proviſions were made for the relief of the Sick and Impotent, and imploying ſuch as could Work. The Biſhops made a heavy Complaint of the growth of Vice and Impiety, and that their Power was ſo much abridged, that they could not repreſs it: So a Bill was read, enlarging their Authority, but it was thought, that it gave them too much Power; yet it was ſo moderated, that the Lords paſt it. But the Commons rejected it: And inſtead of it, ſent up a Bill, that impowered XXXII, who were to be named by the King, the one half of the Temporalty, and the other of the Spiritualty, to compile a Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws within three Years; and that theſe, not being contrary to the Common or Statute Law, and approved of by the King, ſhould have the force of Eccleſiaſtical Laws: Of the XXXII, four were to be Biſhops, and as many to be Common Lawyers. Book II. 1549.

Six Biſhops, and ſix Divines, were impowered to prepare a new Form of Ordination; which being confirmed undet the Great Seal, ſhould take place after *April* next. Articles were alſo put in againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, with a Confeſſion ſigned by him. But ſome objected, that they ought not to proceed, till they knew whether he had ſigned it voluntarily, or not; and ſome were ſent to examine him. He acknowledged he had done it freely; but proteſted that his Errors had flowed rather 1550.

The Duke of *Somerſet* fined, but reſtored to Favour.

Book II. rather from Indiſcretion than Malice, and denied all Treaſonable Deſigns againſt the King, or the
1550. Realm: He was fined in 2000 *l.* a Year in Land, and in the loſs of all his Goods and Offices. He complained of the heavineſs of this Cenſure, and deſired earneſtly to be reſtored to the King's Favour, and promiſed to carry himſelf ſo humbly and obediently, that he ſhould make amends for his paſt Follies, which was thought a ſign of too abject a Mind; others excuſed it, ſince the Power and Malice of his Enemies was ſuch, that he was not ſafe as long as he continued in Priſon; he was diſcharged in the beginning of *February*: Soon after he had his Pardon, and did ſo manage his Intereſt in the King, that he was again brought both to the Court and Council in *April*. But if theſe Submiſſions gained him ſome Favour at Court, they ſunk him as much in the eſteem of the World.

A Progreſs in the Reformation.

The Reformation was now, after this Confuſion was over, carried on again with Vigour. The Council ſent Orders over *England*, to require all to conform themſelves to the new Service, and to call in all the Books of the old Offices. An Act paſt in Parliament to the ſame effect; one Earl, ſix Biſhops, and four Lords only diſſenting: All the old Books and Images were appointed to be defaced, and all Prayers to Saints were to be ſtruck out of the Primmers publiſhed by the late King. A Subſidy was granted, and the King gave a General Pardon, out of which all Priſoners on the account of the State, and Anabaptiſts were excepted. In this Seſſion the Eldeſt Sons of Peers were firſt allowed to ſit in the Houſe of Commons.

The Book of Ordinations put out.

The Commmittee appointed to prepare the Book of Ordinations, finiſhed their Work with common Conſent, only *Heath* Biſhop of *Worceſter* refuſed to ſign it, for which he was called before the Council,

cil, and required to do it, but he ſtill refuſing, was ſent to Priſon. This was thought hard meaſure, to puniſh one for not concurring in a thing not yet ſetled by Law. *Heath* was a Complier, who went along with the Changes that were made, but was ready, upon the firſt favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old Superſtition. It was found, that in the Ancient Church, there was nothing uſed in Ordinations, but Prayer and Impoſition of Hands: The Additions of Anointing and giving conſecrated Veſtments were afterwards brought in. And in the Council of *Florence*, it was declared, that the Rite of Ordaining a Prieſt, was the delivering the Veſſels for the Euchariſt, with a Power to Offer Sacrifices to God for the Dead and Living, which was a Novelty invented to ſupport the belief of Tranſubſtantiation. So all theſe Additions were cut off, and Ordination was reſtored to a greater ſimplicity; and the Form was made almoſt the ſame that we ſtill uſe, only then in Ordaining a Prieſt, the Biſhop was to lay one Hand on his Head, and with the other to give him a Bible, and a Chalice, and Bread in it. In the Conſecration of a Biſhop, the Form was the ſame that we ſtill retain, only then they kept up the Cuſtom of giving the Biſhop a Staff, ſaying theſe words, *Be to the Flock of Chriſt a Shepherd.* In the middle of the ſixth Century, the Anointing the Prieſts Hands was begun in *France*, but was not uſed in the *Roman* Church for two Ages after that. In the eighth Century, the Veſtments were given with a ſpecial Bleſſing, impowering Prieſts to offer Expiatory Sacrifices; then their Heads were Anointed: And in the tenth Century, the belief of Tranſubſtantiation being received, the Veſſels for the Sacrament were delivered. It is evident from the ſeveral Forms of Ordination, that the

Book II. 1550.

Book II. the Church did not believe it ſelf tied to one manner; and that the Prayer, which in ſome Ages
1550. was the Prayer of Conſecration, was in other Ages eſteemed only a Prayer preparatory to it. There were ſome Sponſions promiſed, as a Covenant, to which the Ordination was a Seal: The firſt of theſe was, That the Perſons that came to receive Orders, *Profeſſed that they believed they were inwardly moved to it by the Holy Ghoſt.* If this were well conſidered, it would no doubt put many that thirſt after Sacred Offices to a ſtand; who, if they examine themſelves well, dare not pretend to that, concerning which, perhaps they know nothing, but that they have it not: And if they make the Anſwer preſcribed in the Book, without feeling any ſuch motion in their Heart, they do publickly Lie to God, and againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and have no reaſon to expect a Bleſſing on Orders ſo obtained. But too many conſider that only as a Ceremony in Law, neceſſary to make them capable of ſome Place of Profit, and not as the Dedication of their Lives and Labours to God, and to the gaining of Souls. It were happy for the Church, if Biſhops would not think it enough barely to put theſe Queſtions, but would uſe great ſtrictneſs in examining before-hand the Motives that ſet on thoſe, who come to be Ordained. Another Sponſion is, *That the Prieſts ſhall teach the People, committed to their charge, and exhort them both in private and publick, and viſit the Sick.* By this they plight their Faith to God, for the care of Souls, to be managed by them in Perſon, and upon that they muſt find the Paſtoral Care to be a Load indeed: And ſo will neither deſert their Flocks, nor hire them out to weak, and perhaps ſcandalous Mercenaries. In which the faultineſs of ſome have brought a Blemiſh on this Church, and given ſcandal

dal to many, who could not have been ſo eaſily perſwaded to divide from it, if it had not been, that they, were prejudiced by ſuch groſs and publick Abuſes. Book II. 1550.

The Council was now much perplexed with the Buſineſs of *Bulloign*; and though they had oppoſed the delivering it up by the Protector, yet that End being ſerved in pulling him down, they were convinced of the neceſſity of doing it, and ſo were induced to liſten to the Propoſition that one *Guidotti* made for a Treaty. He was imployed by the Conſtable *Monmorancy*, and gave them aſſurances, that as ſoon as that was ended, the *French* King would engage on the behalf of the oppreſt Princes of the Empire.

At this time Pope *Paul* the Third died. In the Conclave that followed, Cardinal *Farneſe* ſet up Cardinal *Pool*, whoſe wiſe behaviour at *Trent* had raiſed his eſteem much; it alſo appeared, that though he was of the Emperor's Faction, yet he did not ſerve him blindly. Some loaded him both with the imputations of *Lutheraniſm*, and of *Incontinence*: The laſt would not have hindred his Advancement much, though true, yet he fully cleared himſelf of it: But the former lay heavier, for in his retirement at *Viterbo*, where he was Legate, he had given himſelf much to the ſtudy of Controverſies; and *Tranellius*, *Flaminio*, and Others ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*, had lived in his Houſe; and in the Council of *Trent* he ſeemed favourable to ſome of their Opinions: but the great ſufferings both of himſelf and Family in *England*, ſeemed to ſet him above all ſuſpicions. When the Party for him, had almoſt gained a ſufficient number of Suffrages, he ſeemed little concerned at it, and did rather decline, than aſpire to that Dignity: And expreſſed a pitch of Philoſophy on this

Pool choſen Pope, but loſt it.

Book II. this Occasion, that was more suitable to Ancient than Modern Patterns. When a full number had a-
1550. greed, and came to adore him, according to the ordinary Ceremony, he received it with his usual coldness; and that being done in the night, he said, *God loved Light*, and therefore advised them to delay it till Day came. The *Italians*, among whom Ambition passes for the Character of a great Mind, looked on this as an unsufferable piece of dulness; so the Cardinals shrunk from him before Day, and chose *de Monte* Pope, who reigned by the Name of *Julius* the Third. His first Promotion was very extraordinary, for he gave his own Hat to a Servant that kept his Monkey; and being ask'd the reason of it, he said, He saw as much in his Servant to recommend him to be a Cardinal, as the Conclave saw in him to induce them to chuse him Pope. But others imputed this to an unnatural Affection for him.

A Treaty with France. Ambassadors were sent over to *France*, the Lord *Russel*, *Paget* (made also a Lord) and some others, to settle the Treaty of Peace: they were ordered in the first place, to ask the delivery of the *Scottish* Queen, and Payment of the perpetual Pension; but the *French* would not treat about these, their Maister intended to marry the *Scotish* Queen to the Dauphin, and would not be tributary to another Prince, or pay a perpetual Pension; but they offered a sum of Money for *Bulloigne*; things stuck a little at the razing the Fortifications in *Aldernay* and *Sark*, two small Islands in the Channel which the *French* desired, and at the delivering up of *Roxbourgh* and *Aymouth* to the *Scots*, then in the hands of the *English*. The Council ordered their Commissioners to insist on these things, and to offer to break up their Conference rather than yield to them; but if that had no

no effect on the *French*, then they were to let them go. In Concluſion, the *Engliſh*, after a Proteſtation, by which they reſerved to the King all the Rights that he had at the beginning of the War, agreed to deliver up *Bulloign*, and all the places about it, and all the Ordnance in it, except what the *Engliſh* had caſt, for which the *French* were to pay them *Four hundred thouſand Crowns*: All the places which the *Engliſh* had in *Scotland* were to be delivered up, and the Forts razed; and ſix Hoſtages were to be given on both ſides for the performance, who were the Sons of the Men of the greateſt Quality. So was the Peace fully concluded, and the Articles were duly performed on both hands: The Council approved of the Proceedings of their Plenipotentiaries, only the Earl of *Warwick*, who had declared himſelf much againſt the delivery of *Bulloigne*, pretended Sickneſs, and was abſent. Book II. 1550.

At this time the Earl of *Warwick* ordered a review to be made of all Accounts, and brought in much Mony, by the Fines of thoſe who were accuſed for Malverſation: The Earl of *Arundel* was fined in *Twelve thouſand Pounds*, Sir *James Thynne* in 6000 *l.* and many others of the Protector's Creatures in 3000 *l.*

In *February*, *Ridley* was made Biſhop of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, 1000 *l.* a Year of the Rents of the See were aſſigned him, with Licence to hold two Prebends. *Reps* Biſhop of *Norwich* reſigned, upon which *Therleby*, Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, was removed to *Norwich*; and it was intended to re-unite *London* and *Weſtminſter*, but though they ſtill remained different Sees, yet they were now put under one Man's care. His Patent was not during Pleaſure, but during Life. It does not appear that there was any deſign in this Reign to put down Cathedrals; for though *Weſtminſter*, *Glouceſter*, and *Durham* were ſuppreſſed, the two former being united, one

Ridley made Biſhop of *London*.

Book II. to *London*, and another to *Worcester*; and the latter being to be divided in two, yet in none of these were the Dean and Chapter Lands fallen on.

1550.

Gardiner's Process.

Gardiner continued still in Prison: During the Protector's Ministry, some Privy Councellors dealt with him, to sue to him for Mercy, and to declare whether he approved the New Service, or not: But he said he had done no Fault, and so would not ask Pardon; nor would he declare his Opinion while he continued a Prisoner, lest his Enemies might say he did it only to be set at Liberty. Upon the Protector's Fall, he expected he should have been discharged of his Imprisonment, and thought it so near, that he made a farewel Feast to the Officers in the *Tower*. Some Privy Counsellors were sent to him with Articles, acknowledging former Offences, approving the Book of Common-Prayer, and asserting the King's Power when he was under Age, and his Authority to reform Abuses in the Church, and that the six Articles were justly abrogated. He signed the Paper, only he wrote on the Margin, that he could not confess former Offences, for he was not convinced of any Fault he had done. Upon this, it was believed that he was to be quickly let out; but another Message was sent him, that he must confess that he had been justly punished: This he plainly refused to do, and said, he would never defame himself. *Ridley* was sent to him with a new Paper, in which the confession of his Faults was more softly worded; the rest related to the Pope's Power, the suppressing the Abbies and Chantries, Pilgrimages, Masses, Images, the Adoration of the Sacrament, Communion in both Kinds, the abolishing the Old Books of Service, and setting up the New; with the Book of Ordinations, and the Lawfulness of a Married Clergy: But he said, he would sign no more Articles while he continued in Prison; and desired that he might be either Tried, or set at Liber-

ty;

ty; for he asked not Mercy but Juſtice. And being called before the Council, and required to ſign thoſe Articles, he gave them the ſame Anſwer: He ſaid ſome of theſe Points were already ſetled by Law, others were not ſo, and in theſe he was at liberty to do as he pleaſed. Upon this, his Biſhoprick was ſequeſtred, and he was required to conform himſelf within three Months, under pain of Deprivation; and the freedom of the *Tower* was denied him. All this was much cenſured, as contrary to Law, and the Liberties of Engliſh-Men, and it was ſaid that it ſavoured more of a Court of Inquiſition, than of a Legal way of Proceeding. The Canon-Law was not yet rectified, ſo the King being in the Pope's room, this way, *ex Officio* was excuſed, as grounded upon the Forms of the Spiritual Courts. Book II. 1550.

There was a Diſcourſe on foot, of a Marriage between the King and a Daughter of *France*, which grieved the Reformers, who rather wiſhed him to marry *Maximilian*'s Daughter, who was believed to favour the Reformation, and was eſteemed one of the beſt Men of the Age. Old *Latimer* preached at Court, and warned the King of the ill Effects of bad Marriages, which were made up only as Bargains, without Affection between the Parties; and that they occaſioned ſo much Whoring, and ſo many Divorces: He alſo complained of the Luxury and Vanity of the Age, aad many called *Goſpellers*, who were concerned for nothing but Abbey and Chantry Lands; he alſo preſt the ſetting up a Primitive Diſcipline in the Church. He preached this as his laſt Sermon, and ſo uſed great Freedom: He complained that the King's Debts were not paid, and yet his Officers grew vaſtly Rich: He prayed the King not to ſeek his Pleaſures too much, and charged all about him to be faithful to him.

Latimer preaches at Court.

Book II.

1550. The See of *Glouceſter* fell vacant, and *Hooper* was named to it; upon which the Heats concerning things indifferent, that have ſince that time ſo fatally rent the Church, had their firſt riſe. He had ſome Scruples about the Epiſcopal Veſtments, and thought that all thoſe Garments having been Conſecrated with much Superſtition, were to be reckoned among the Elements condemned by St. *Paul*: But *Ridley* juſtified the uſe of them, and ſaid, the Elements condemned by St. *Paul*, were only the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies; which though the Apoſtles condemned, when they were impoſed as neceſſary, (for that imported that the *Moſaical* Law was not yet abrogated, and that the *Meſſiah* was not come) yet they themſelves uſed them at other times, to gain upon the *Jews* by that Compliance. And if Apoſtles did ſuch things to gain them, Subjects ought much more to obey the Laws in Matters indifferent: And Superſtitious Conſecrations was as good an Argument for throwing down all the Churches, as for laying aſide thoſe Habits. *Cranmer* deſired *Bucer*'s Opinion concerning the Lawfulneſs of thoſe Habits, and the Obligation lying on Subjects to obey the Laws about them. His Opinion was, that every Creature of God was good, and that no former Abuſe could make a thing indifferent in it ſelf, become unlawful: He thought antient Cuſtoms ought not to be lightly changed, and that there might be a good uſe made of thoſe Garments; that they might well expreſs the Purity and Candor that became all who Miniſtred in Holy Things; and that it was a Sin to diſobey the Laws in ſuch Matters. Yet ſince thoſe Garments had been abuſed to Superſtition, and were like to become a Subject of Contention, he wiſhed they might be taken away by Law; and that Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and a more compleat Reformation might be ſet up, and that a ſtop might be put to the robbing of Churches; otherwiſe, they might

Hooper made Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, has ſcruples concerning the Veſtments.

might ſee, in the preſent State of *Germany*, a dreadful Proſpect of that which *England* ought to look for. He alſo writ to the ſame effect to *Hooper*, and wiſhed that all good Men would unite againſt the greater Corruptions, and then leſſer Abuſes would eaſily be redreſſed. *Peter Martyr* did alſo deliver his Opinion to the ſame purpoſe, and was much troubled at *Hooper*'s ſtiffneſs, and at ſuch Conteſts among the Profeſſors of true Religion. *Hooper* was ſuſpended from Preaching; but the Earl of *Warwick* writ to *Cranmer* to diſpenſe with him in that Matter: He anſwered, That while the Law continued in force, he could not do it without incurring a *Præmunire*. Upon that, the King writ to him, allowing him to do it, and diſpenſing with the Law: Yet this Matter was not ſetled till a Year after. *John à Laſco*, with ſome *Germans* of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion, came this Year into *England*, being driven out of *Germany* by the Perſecution there: They were erected by Letters Patents into a Corporation, and *à Laſco* was their Super-intendent; he being a Stranger, medled too much in *Engliſh* Affairs, and wrote both againſt the Habits, and againſt Kneeling in the Sacrament. *Polidore Virgil* was this Year ſuffered to go out of *England*, and ſtill to hold the Preferments he had in it. *Poinet* was made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Caverdale* Co-adjutor to *Veyſey* in *Exeter*.

Book II. 1550.

There was now a Deſign ſet on foot, for a review of the Common-Prayer-Book: In order to which, *Bucer*'s Opinion was asked. He approved the main parts of the former Book, he wiſhed there might be not only a Denunciation againſt ſcandalous Perſons that came to the Sacrament, but a Diſcipline to exclude them; That the Habits might be laid aſide, that no part of the Communion-Office might be uſed, except when there was a Sacrament; that Communions might be more frequent; that the

A review of the Common Prayer-Book

Book II. 1550. Prayers might be ſaid in a plain Voice; that the Sacrament might be put in the Peoples Hands; and that there might be no Prayers for the Dead, which had not been uſed in *Juſtin Martyr*'s Time: He adviſed a change of ſome Phraſes in the Office of the Communion, that favoured Tranſubſtantiation too much; and that Baptiſm might be only in Churches: He thought the Hallowing the Water, the Chriſm, and the White Garments, were too ſcenical; nor did he approve of adjuring the Devil, nor of the Godfathers anſwering in the Child's Name: He thought Confirmation ſhould be delayed till the Perſon was of Age, and came ſincerely to renew the Baptiſmal Covenant. He adviſed Catechiſing every Holy-day, both of Children and the Adult; he diſliked private Marriages, extream Unction, and offering Chriſomes at the Churching of Women: And thought there ought to be greater ſtrictneſs uſed in the examining of thoſe who came to receive Orders.

Bucer offers ſome Advices to the King.

At the ſame Time he underſtood that the King expected a New-years Gift from him, of a Book written particularly for his own uſe: So he made a Book for him, concerning the Kingdom of Chriſt: He preſt much the ſetting up a ſtrict Diſcipline, the Sanctification of the Lord's Day, the appointing many Days of Faſting, and that Pluralities and Non-reſidences might be effectually condemned; that Children might be Catechiſed; that the Reverence due to Churches might be preſerved; that the Paſtoral Function might be reſtored to what it ought to be; that Biſhops might throw off Secular Affairs, and take care of their Dioceſſes, and govern them by the Advice of their Presbyters; that there might be Rural Biſhops over twenty or thirty Pariſhes, and that Provincial Councils, might meet twice a Year; that Church-Lands ſhould be reſtored, and that a fourth part might be aſſigned to the Poor; that

Marriage,

Marriage, without consent of Parents, should be annulled; that a second Marriage might be declared lawful, after a Divorce, for Adultery, and some other Reasons; that care should be taken of the Education of Youth, and for repressing Luxury; that the Law might be reformed; that no Office might be sold, but given to the most deserving; that none should be put in Prison upon slight Offences; and that the severity of some Laws, as that which made Theft Capital, might be mitigated. Book II. 1550.

The young King was much pleased with these Advices; and upon that, began himself to form a Scheme for amending many things that were amiss in the Government, which he writ with his own Hand, and in a stile and manner that had much of a Child in it, though the Thoughts were Manly: It appears by it, that he intended to set up a Church-Discipline, and settle a Method for breeding of Youth; but the Discourse is not finished. He also writ a Journal of every thing that past at Home, and of the News that came from beyond Sea. It has clear Marks of his own Composing, as well as it is written with his own Hand. He wrote another Discourse in *French*, being a Collection of all the Places of Scripture against Idolatry, with a Preface before it, dedicated to the Protector. The King's great understanding.

At this time *Ridley* made his first Visitation of his Diocess; the Articles upon which he proceeded, were chiefly relating to the Service and Ceremonies that were abolished, whether any continued to use them, or not; and whether there were any Anabaptists, or others, that used private Conventicles. He also carried some Injunctions with him, against some remainders of the former Superstition, and for exhorting the People to give Alms, and to come oft to the Sacrament; and that Altars might be removed, and Tables put in their room, in the most convenient place of the Chancel. In the Ancient Altars put down.

Book II. 1550. Church their Tables were of Wood: But the Sacrament being called a Sacrifice, as Prayers, Alms, and all Holy Oblations were, they came to be called *Altars*. This gave the rise to the Opinion of Expiatory Sacrifices in the Mass, and therefore it was thought fit to take away both the Name and Form of Altars. *Ridley* only advised the Curates to do this; but upon some Contests arising concerning it, the Council interposed, and required it to be done; and sent with their Order, a Paper of Reasons justifying it: Shewing that a Table was more proper than an Altar; especially, since the Opinion of an Expiatory Sacrifice was supported by it. Sermons began to be preached in some Churches on Working-Days; this occasioned great running about, and idleness; and raised Emulation among the Clergy: Upon which, the Council ordered them all to be put down. Since that time there has been great contention concerning these; they were factiously kept up by some, and too violently suppressed by others: But now that Matter is quieted, and they are in many Places still continued, to the great Edification of the People. The Government was now free of all Disturbance: The Coin was reformed, and Trade was encouraged. The Faction in the Court seemed also to be extinguish'd, by a Marriage between the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son, and the Duke of *Somerset*'s Daughter. The Duke of *Lunenburgh* made a Proposition of Marriage with Lady *Mary*, but the Treaty with the Infanta of *Portugal* did still depend, so it was not entertained.

Affairs of *Scotland*.

In *Scotland*, the Governour, now made Duke of *Chastelherault* in *France*, was wholly led by his base Brother's Counsels, who, though he was Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, yet gave himself up, without any disguise to his Pleasures, and kept another Man's Wife avowedly; by such means were the People more easily disposed to hearken to the New Teachers,

Teachers, and prepared for the Changes that followed. The Queen-Mother went to *France*, on design to procure the Government of *Scotland* to be put in her Hands. Book II. 1550.

A Diet was called in *Germany*; the Town of *Magdeburg* was Proſcribed: But they publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, expreſſing their readineſs to obey the Emperor according to Law; and that they only ſtood to the defence of their Liberties, without doing Acts of Hoſtility to others. It was now viſible, that the Deſigns of the late War was to extinguiſh the Proteſtant Religion, and to ſet up Tyranny. It was better to obey God than Man: And they were reſolved to put all to hazard, rather than give up their Religion. Tumults were raiſed in *Strasburg* and other Towns, when the Maſs was again ſet up; and all *Germany* were diſpoſed to a Revolt, only they wanted a Head. Severe Edicts were alſo ſet out in *Flanders*; but the execution of them was ſtopt, at the interceſſion of the *Engliſh* in *Antwerp*, who were reſolved otherwiſe to remove the Trade to another Place. The Emperor preſt the Diet to ſubmit to the Council, when it ſhould be brought back to *Trent*: But *Maurice* of *Saxe*, to whom all the Proteſtants joined, refuſed to do it, unleſs all their former Decrees ſhould be reviewed, and their Divines heard, and admitted to Vote; and that the Pope would diſpenſe with the Oath which the Biſhops Sware to him: Yet he ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the Emperor's Confidence, that he was made General of the Empire, for the reduction of *Magdeburg*, and reſolved to manage that Matter, ſo as to draw great Advantages from it. The Emperor reckoned that he might well truſt him as long as he had *John* Duke of *Saxe* in his Hands: But he had provoked him too much in the Matter of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, his Father-in-law, to repoſe ſuch Confidence in him; ſo that this proved a fatal Er- And Germany.

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Book II. ror to him, by which he loſt the Power he had then in *Germany*; and *Maurice* proved too hard for him in diſſimulation, in which he was ſo great a Maſter.

1551. The Popiſh Clergy comply generally.

The Popiſh Clergy in *England*, did now generally comply to every Change that was made. *Oglethorp*, afterwards Biſhop of *Carliſle*, being informed againſt as favouring the old Superſtition, did under his Hand declare, That he thought the Order of Religion then ſetled, was nearer the uſe of the Primitive Church, than that which was formerly received, and that he condemned Tranſubſtantiation as a late Invention, and approved the Communion in both Kinds, and the Peoples receiving always with the Prieſt. *Smith*, who had written againſt the Marriage of the Clergy, and was upon ſome Complaints put in Priſon, being diſcharged by *Cranmer*'s Interceſſion, writ a Submiſſion to him, acknowledging the Miſtakes he had committed in his Book, and the Archbiſhop's Gentleneſs towards him; and wiſhed he might periſh, if he did not write ſincerely, and called God a Witneſs againſt his Soul, if he lyed. *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, did alſo Preach a Sermon at *Court* againſt Tranſubſtantiation. The Principle, by which moſt of that Party governed themſelves, was this, They thought they ought to oppoſe all the Changes, before they were eſtabliſhed by Law; yet that being done, that they might afterwards comply with them. *Cranmer* was a moderate and prudent Man, and willing to accept of any thing they offered, reckoning, that whether they acted ſincerely or not, yet their Compliance would be a means to quiet the Nation; he was alſo of ſo compaſſionate a Nature, that he would never drive things to Extremities, againſt Men that were grown old in their Errors, and could not be eaſily weaned from them: Only *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, were ſuch Deceitful and Cruel Men, that he thought it might be more excuſable to make ſtretches for ridding the Church of them.

Martin

Martin Bucer died in the beginning of this Year, of the Stone, and griping of the Guts. He had great apprehenſions of a fatal Revolution in *England*; by reaſon of the ill Lives of the People, occaſioned chiefly by the want of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and the neglect of the Paſtoral Charge. Orders were ſent from the *Court* to *Cambridg*, to bury him with all the Publick Honour to his Memory, that could be deviſed. Speeches and Sermons were made, both by *Haddon* the Univerſity Orator, and *Parker*, and *Redmayn*. The laſt of theſe was one of the moſt extraordinary Men, both for Learning, and a true Judgment of Things, that was in that Time: he had alſo in many Things differed from *Bucer*, and yet he acknowledged, that there was none alive, of whom he hoped now to learn ſo much, as he had done by his Converſation with him. *Bucer* was inferiour to none of all the Reformers in Learning, but ſuperiour to moſt of them; in an excellent temper of Mind, and a great zeal for preſerving the Unity of the Church: a rare Quality in that Age, in which *Melanchon* and he were the moſt eminent. He had not that nimbleneſs of diſputing, for which *Peter Martyr* was more admired, and the Popiſh Doctors took advantage from that to carry themſelves more inſolently towards him. Book II. 1551. *Bucer's* Death.

Soon after this, *Gardiner's* Proceſs was put to an end: A Commiſſion was iſſued out to *Cranmer*, and three Biſhops, and ſome Civilians, to proceed againſt him, for his Contempt, in refuſing to ſign the Articles offered to him: he complained, that all that was done againſt him, was out of Malice; that he had been long impriſoned, and nothing was objected to him; that he was reſolved to obey the Laws and Orders of Council, but that he would acknowledg no Fault, not having committed any. The Things objected to him, were, that he refuſed to ſet out in his Sermon the King's Power, when he was under *Gardiner's* Deprivation.

Book II. under Age, and had affronted the Preachers, whom the King had ſent to his Dioceſs; that he had been 1551. negligent in executing the King's Injunctions, and refuſed to confeſs his Fault, or ask the King Pardon; and it was ſaid that the Rebellions raiſed in *England*, might have been prevented, if he had timouſly ſet forth the King's Authority: He anſwered, that he was not required to do it by any Order of Council, but only in a private diſcourſe; yet Witneſſes being examined upon thoſe Particulars, the Delegates proceeded to ſentence of Deprivation againſt him, notwithſtanding his Appeal to the King in Perſon: and he was appointed to lie ſtill in the *Tower*, where he continued till Queen *Mary* diſcharged him. Nothing was pretended to excuſe the ſeverity of theſe Proceedings, but that he having taken out a Commiſſion for holding his Biſhoprick only during the King's Pleaſure, he could not complain when that was intimated to him: and if he had been turned out meerly upon pleaſure, without the Pomp of a Proceſs, the Matter might have been better excuſed. *Poinet* was put in his See, and had 2000 Marks in Lands aſſign'd him for his ſubſiſtence. *Story* was put in *Rocheſter*; and upon *Veyſy*'s reſignation, *Coverdale* was made Biſhop of *Exeter*. The Scruples that *Hooper* made, were now ſo far ſatisfied, that he was content both to be conſecrated in his Veſtments, and to uſe them when he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral; but he was diſpenſed with upon other Occaſions.

The Articles of Religion agreed on.

By this Time the greater number of the Biſhops were Men that heartily received the Reformation: ſo it was reſolved now to proceed to a Settlement of the Doctrine of the Church: many thought that ſhould have been done in the firſt place; but *Cranmer* judged it was better to proceed ſlowly in that Matter: he thought the Corruptions in the Worſhip were to be begun with, ſince while they remained,

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the Addreſſes to God were ſo defiled, that thereby all People were involved in unlawful Compliances: he thought ſpeculative Opinions might come laſt, ſince Errors in them were not of ſuch ill conſequence: and he judged it neceſſary to lay theſe open, in many Treatiſes and Diſputes, before they ſhould proceed to make Alterations, that ſo all People might be before-hand ſatisfied with what ſhould be done. So now they framed a Body of Articles, which contained the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: they were caſt into forty two Aticles, and afterwards ſome few Alterations being made in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, they were reduced to XXXIX; which being in all Peoples Hands, need not be much inlarged on. Book II. 1551.

In the Ancient Church, there was at firſt a great ſimplicity in their Creeds; but afterwards, upon the breaking out of Hereſies, concerning the Perſon of Chriſt, equivocal Senſes being put on the Terms formerly uſed, new Ones, that could not be ſo eaſily eluded, were invented. A Humour of explaining Myſteries by Similies and Niceties, and of paſſing Anathema's on all that did not receive theſe, did much over-run the Church: and though the Council of *Epheſus* decreed, that no new Additions ſhould be made to the Creed, yet that did not reſtrain thoſe who loved to make all their own Conceits be received as parts of the Faith. The Fathers were carried too far with this Curioſity; but the Schoolmen went farther, and ſpun the Thread much finer; they condemned every thing that differed from their Notions, as Heretical: Many of the *Lutherans* had retained much of that peremptorineſs, and were not eaſy to thoſe who differed from them. In *England* great care was taken to frame theſe Articles in the moſt comprehenſive words, and the greateſt ſimplicity poſſible.

When

Book II.

1551

Changes made in the Common-Prayer-Book

When this was ſetled, they went about the review of the Common-Prayer-Book. In the daily Service, they added the Confeſſion and Abſolution, that ſo the Worſhip of God might begin with a grave and humble Confeſſion conceived in general words; but to which every one ought to joyn a ſecret Confeſſion of his particular Sins: After which, a ſolemn Declaration of the Mercy of God, according to the Terms of the Goſpel, was to be pronounced by the Prieſt. This was thought much better, than the giving Abſolution in ſuch formal Words, as; *I abſolve thee*; which begat in the undiſcerning Vulgar an Opinion, that the Prieſt had Authority to pardon Sin, and that made them think of nothing ſo much, as how to purchaſe it at his Hands: And it proved, as it was managed, the greateſt Engine that ever was for overthrowing the Power of Religion. In the Communion-Service, they ordered a recital of the Commandments, with a ſhort Devotion between every one of them, judging that till Church-Diſcipline were reſtored, nothing could more effectually awaken ſuch as came to receive it, to a due ſerioufneſs in it, than the hearing the Law of God thus pronounced, with thoſe Stops in it, to make the People reflect on their Offences againſt it. The Chriſm, the uſe of the Croſs in Conſecrating the Euchariſt, Prayers for the Dead, and ſome Expreſſions that favoured Tranſubſtantiation were laid aſide; and the Book was put in the ſame Order and Method in which it continues to this Day, excepting only ſome inconſiderable variations, that have been made ſince. A Rubrick was added to the Office of the Communion, explaining the reaſon of Kneeling in it, that it was only as an expreſſion of due Reverence and Gratitude, upon the receiving ſo particular a Mark of the Favour of God: But that no Adoration was intended by it, and that they did not think Chriſt was Corporally preſent in it. In

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Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time this was left out, that such as conformed in other things, but ſtill retained the belief of the Corporal Preſence, might not be offended at ſuch a Declaration: It was again put in the Book, upon his preſent Majeſty's Reſtauration, for removing the Scruples of thoſe who excepted to that Poſture. Chriſt did at firſt Inſtitute this Sacrament, in that ordinary Table-Geſture. *Moſes* appointed the Paſchal Lamb to be eaten by the People ſtanding, with Staves in their Hands, they being then to begin their March; yet that was afterwards changed by the *Jews*, who did eat it in the Poſture common at Meals, which our Saviour's Practice juſtifies. So, though Chriſt in his ſtate of Humiliation did Inſtitute this Ordinance, in ſo familiar a poſture, yet it was thought more becoming the Reverence due to him in his Exaltation, to celebrate it with greater expreſſions of Humility and Devotion. The Ancient Chriſtians received it ſtanding, and bowing their Body downward: Kneeling was afterward uſed as a higher Expreſſion of devout Worſhip: But great difference is to be made, between the Adoration practiſed in the Church of *Rome*, in which, upon lifting up the Hoſt, all fall down and Worſhip, and our being during the whole Action, in one continued poſture of Devotion: And if the *Jews*, who were more bound up to Ceremonies, made a change in the Poſture, at the Memorial of their Deliverance, without any warrant mentioned in the Old Teſtament, it muſt be acknowledged, that the Chriſtian Church, which is more at liberty in ſuch Matters, had Authority to make the like change of the Poſture, in this Memorial of Chriſt's Sufferings. At this time ſix of the moſt eminent Preachers were appointed to wait on the *Court* by turns, two at a time, and the other four were ſent as Itenerant Perachers, into all the Counties of *England*, in a Circuit, for ſupply-

Book II. 1551. King *Charles* the Second.

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Book II. ing the Defects of the Clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

1551. Lady *Mary* in trouble for having Mass said.

The Mass said in Lady *Mary*'s Chappel, was now again challenged. The Court was less afraid of the Emperor's Displeasure than formerly, and so would no longer bear with so publick a breach of Law: And the Promise they had made being but Temporary, and never given in Writing, they thought they were not bound by it. But the Emperor assured her, that he had an absolute Promise for that Priviledg to her: This encouraged her so much, that when the Council wrote to her, she said she would follow the Catholick Church, and adhere to her Father's Religion. Answer was writ in the King's Name, requiring her to obey the Law, and not to pretend that the King was under Age, since the late Rebels had justified themselves by that. The way of Worship then established, was also vindicated, as most consonant to the Word of God. But she refused to engage into any Disputes, only she said she would continue in her former Courses. And she was thinking of going out of *England*, insomuch that the Emperor ordered a Ship to lie near the Coast for her Transportation; which was strange Advice, for it is probable, if she had gone beyond Sea, she had been effectually shut out from succeeding to the Crown. The Emperor espoused her Quarrel so warmly, that he threatned to make War, if she should be hardly used; and the Merchants having then great Effects at *Antwerp*, it was not thought fit to give him a colour for breaking with them, and seizing on these; so the Council were willing to let the Matter fall, and only advised her to have her Mass privately said: yet the young King could not be easily induced to yield to that, for he said, *He ought not to connive at Idolatry.* The Council ordered *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Poinet*, to satisfy him in it: And they convinced him, that though he ought

ought not to consent to any Sin, yet he was not at all times obliged to punish it. He burst out in weeping, lamenting his Sister's Obstinacy, and his own Circumstances, that obliged him to comply with such an impious way of Worship. Dr. *Wotton* was sent over to the Emperor, to convince him that no absolute Promise was ever made: For *Paget* and *Hobbey*, whom the Emperor vouched for it, declared upon Oath, that they made not any but what was Temporary; and since the King did not meddle in the Concerns of the Emperor's Family, it was not reasonable for him to interpose in this. The Emperor pretended, that he had promised to her Mother at her Death, to protect her, and so he was bound in Honour to take care of her: But now when the Council were not in such fear of the Emperor's Displeasure as formerly, they sent to seize on two of her Chaplains, that had said Mass in her House, when she was absent; they kept out of the way, and she writ to the Council to stop the Prosecution, and continued to stand upon the Promise made to the Emperor. A long Answer was returned to her by the Council, in which, after the Matter of the Promise was cleared, they urged her with the absurdity of Prayers in an unknown Tongue, offering the Sacrament for the Dead, and worshiping Images: All the Ancients appealed upon all occasions to the Scriptures, by these she might easily discover the Errors and Cheats of the old Superstition, that were supported only by false Miracles and lying Stories. They concluded, that they being trusted with the execution of the Laws, were obliged to proceed equally. *Mallet*, one of the Chaplains, was taken, and she earnestly desired that he might be set at Liberty, but it was denied her. The Council sent for the chief Officers of her House, and required them to let her know the King's Pleasure, that she must have the new Service in her Family;

Book II. 1551.

Book II. and to give the like charge to her Chaplains and Servants. This vexed her much, and did almoſt caſt her into Sickneſs; She ſaid, ſhe would obey the King in every thing in which her Conſcience was not touched: But charged them not to deliver the Council's Meſſage to her Servants. Upon that, the Lord Chancellor, *Petre* and *Wingfield*, were ſent with the ſame Orders to her; and carried to her a Letter from the King, which ſhe received on her Knees; but when ſhe read it, ſhe caſt the blame of it on *Cecyl*, then Secretary of State. The Chancellor told her, the whole Council were of one mind, that they could not ſuffer her to uſe a Form of Worſhip againſt Law: and had ordered them to intimate this both to her ſelf and her Family. She made great Proteſtations of Duty to the King; but ſaid, ſhe would die rather than uſe any form of Worſhip but that which was left by her Father, only ſhe was afraid ſhe was not worthy to ſuffer on ſo good an account. When the King was of Age, ſhe would obey his Commands in Religion; and though he now knew many things above his Age, yet as they did not think him yet capable of Matters of War or Policy, ſo much leſs could he judge in Points of Divinity. If her Chaplains refuſed to ſay Maſs, ſhe could have none, but for the new Service ſhe was reſolved againſt it; and if it were forced on her, ſhe would leave her Houſe. She deſired her Officers might be ſent back to her, whom they had put in the *Tower*, for not intimating the Council's Order to her Servants; which had been ſtrange for them to have done, when ſhe forbid it. She charged them to uſe her well for her Father's ſake, who had raiſed them all out of nothing. She was Sick by reaſon of their ill uſage; and if ſhe dyed, ſhe would lay it at their Door. She inſiſted on the Promiſe made to the Emperor, who writ of it to her, and ſhe believed him more

1551.

more than them all: She gave them a Token to be carried to the King, and ſo diſmiſt them. When they had laid a charge on her Chaplains and Servants, to the ſame effect, and were going away, ſhe called after them, and deſired they would ſend her Comptroller to her, for ſhe was weary of receiving her Accounts, and examining how many Loaves were made of a Buſhel of Meal. Upon this Reſolution that ſhe expreſt, the Council went no further, only after this, her Maſs was ſaid ſo ſecretly, that ſhe gave no publick Scandal. From *Copthall*, where this was done, ſhe removed, and lived at *Hunſden*, and thither *Ridley* went to ſee her: She received him very civilly, and ordered her Officers to entertain him at Dinner: But when he begged leave to Preach before her, ſhe at firſt Bluſh'd, but being further preſt, ſhe ſaid, he might Preach in the Pariſh Church, but neither ſhe nor her Family would be there: He asked her, if ſhe refuſed to hear the Word of God? She anſwered, they did not call that God's Word now, that they had called ſo in her Father's Days: And that in his time they durſt not have ſaid the things which they then preached: And after ſome ſharp and reproachful Diſcourſe, ſhe diſmiſt him. *Wharton*, one of her Officers, as he conducted him out, made him drink a little, but he reflecting on that, blamed himſelf for it; for he ſaid, when the Word of God was rejected, he ought to have ſhaken off the duſt of his Feet, and gone away. The King's Siſter *Elizabeth* did in all things conform to the Laws; for her Mother at her Death recommended her to Dr. *Parker*'s Care, who inſtructed her well in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion. Book II. 1551.

The Earl of *Warwick* began now to form great Deſigns of bringing the Crown into his Family: The King was alienated from his Siſter *Mary*, and the Privy Council had imbroiled themſelves with her, The Earl of *Warwick*'s Deſigns.

Book II. and so would be easily engaged against her. The Pretence against both the Sisters was the same, that 1551. they stood Illegitimated by two Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, confirmed in Parliament. So that it would be a disgrace to the Nation to let the Crown devolve on Bastards: And since the fears of the Eldest's Revenge, made the Council willing to exclude her, the only reason on which they could ground that, must take place against the second likewise. And therefore though the Crown was provided to them, both by Act of Parliament, and the late King's Will, yet these being founded on an Error that was indispensable, which was the baseness of their Descent, they ought not to take place. They being laid aside, the Daughters of the *French* Queen, by *Charles Brandon*, stood next in the Act, and yet it was generally believed that they were Bastards: For it was given out that *Brandon* was secretly married to one *Mortimer* at the time that he married the *French* Queen, and that *Mortimer* outlived her, so that the Issue by her was illegitimate. The Sweating Sickness did this Year break out in *England* with such Contagion, that *Eight hundred* died in one Week of it in *London*; those that were taken with it, were inclined much to sleep, and all that slept died; but if they were kept awake a Day, they did Sweat it out. *Charles Brandon*'s two Sons by his last Wife died within a Day one of another. His Eldest Daughter by the *French* Queen, was marreid to the Marques of *Dorset*, a good, but weak Man, and so he was made Duke of *Suffolk*: They had no Sons; their eldest Daughter *Jane Grey*, was thought the Wonder of the Age. So the Earl of *Warwick* projected a Match between her and his fourth Son *Guilford*, his three elder Sons being then married: And because the Lady *Elizabeth* was like to stand most in the way, care was taken to send her out of *England*: And a Match was treated for her with the King of *Denmark*.

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A ſplendid Meſſage was ſent to *France*, with the Order of the Garter. The Marqueſs of *Northampton*, carried it, three Earls, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and five Lords were ſent with him, and above two hundred Gentlemen accompanied them. They were to make a Propoſition of Marriage for the King with a Daughter of *France*. The Biſhop of *Ely* made the firſt Speech, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* anſwered him; it was ſoon agreed on, yet neither Party was to be bound, either in Honour or Conſcience, till the Lady ſhould be of Years to give Conſent. A noble Embaſſy was ſent in return from *France* to *England*, with the Order of St. *Michael*. They deſired in their Maſter's Name the continuance of the King's Friendſhip, and that he would not be moved by Rumors that might be raiſed, to break their Alliance. The young King anſwered on the ſudden, 'That Rumours were not always to be believed, 'nor always to be rejected; for it was no leſs vain 'to fear all things, than to doubt of nothing: if 'any differences happened to ariſe, he ſhould be al-'ways ready to determine them, rather by Reaſon 'than by Force, ſo far as his Honour ſhould not be 'thereby diminiſhed. This was thought a very extraordinary Anſwer, to be made by one of Fourteen on the ſudden.

Book II.

1551.

A Treaty for a Marriage to the King.

There was at this time a great Creation of Peers. *Warwick* was made Duke of *Northumberland*, the Blood of the *Piercies* being then under an Attainder: *Paulet* was made Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*; *Herbert* was made Earl of *Pembroke*; and a little before this, *Ruſſel* had been made Earl of *Bedford*, and *Darcy* was made a Lord. There was none ſo likely to take the King out of *Northumberland*'s Hands, as the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was beginning to form a new Party about the King; ſo upon ſome Informations, both the Duke of *Somerſet* and his Dutcheſs, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and

The Duke of *Somerſet*'s Fall.

Book II. 1551. several others, of whom, some were Gentlemen of Quality, and others were the Duke's Servants, were all committed to the *Tower*. The committing of *Palmer* was to delude the World, for he had betrayed the Duke, and was clap'd up as a Complice, and then pretended to discover a Plot: He said the Duke intended to have raised the People, and that *Northumberland*, *Northampton*, and *Pembroke*, having been invited to dine at the Lord *Paget's*, he intended to have set on them by the way, or have killed them at Dinner; that *Vane* was to have 2000 Men ready; *Arundel* was to have seized on the *Tower*, and all the Gendarmoury were to have been killed. All these things were told the young King with such Circumstances, that he too easily believed them, and so was much alienated from his Uncle, judging him guilty of so foul a Conspiracy. It was added by others, that the Duke intended to have raised the City of *London*; one *Crane* confirmed *Palmer's* Testimony, and both the Earl of *Arundel* and *Paget* were also committed as Complices. On the first of *December*, the Duke was brought to his Tryal: The Marques of *Winchester* was Lord Steward, and 27 Peers sat to judge him, among whom were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Particulars charged on him were, a design to seize on the King's Person, to imprison the Duke of *Northumberland*, and to raise the City of *London*. It seemed strange to see *Northumberland* sit a Judge, when the Crime objected, was a Design against his Life: for though by the Law of *England* no Peer can be challenged, yet by the Law of Nature no Man can well judge where he is a Party. The Chancellor, tho' a Peer, was left out, upon suspicion of a Reconciliation, which he was making with the Duke: He was not well skilled in Law, and neither objected to the Indictment, nor desired Counsel to plead for him, but only answered to

His Tryal.

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Matters of Fact: he denied all Designs to raise the People, or to kill *Northumberland*: if he had talked of it, it was in Passion without any Intention: and it was ridiculous to think, that he with a small Troop could destroy the Gendarmoury, who were 900. The armed Men he had about him, were only for his own Defence; he had done no mischief to his Enemies, though it was once in his power to have done it; and he had rendred himself without making any resistance: He desired the Witnesses might be brought face to face, and objected many things to them; chiefly to *Palmer*, but that was not done, and their Depositions were only read. The King's Counsel pleaded upon the Statute against unlawful Assemblies, that to contrive the Death of Privy Counsellors was also Felony. The material Defence was omitted, for by that Statute those Assemblies were not felonious, except being required to disperse themselves, they had refused to do it; and it does not appear that any such Proclamation had been made in this Case. The Proofs of his raising Rebellion were insufficient, so he was acquitted of Treason, which raised a great shout of Joy, that was heard as far as *Charing-Cross*; but he was found guilty of Felony, for intending to imprison *Northumberland*. He carried himself, during the Tryal, with great temper, and all the sharpness which the King's Counsel expressed in pleading against him, did not provoke him to any undecent Passion. But when Sentence was given, he sunk a little, and asked the three Lords, that were his Enemies, pardon, for his ill Designs against them, and made suit for his Life, for his Wife and Children. It was generally thought, that nothing being found against him, but an intention to imprison a Privy Counsellor, that never took effect, one so nearly related to the King, would not have been put to Death on that account. It was therefore necessary to

Book II. 1551.

Book II. raiſe in the King a great Averſion to him: ſo a Story was brought to the King, as if in the *Tower* he had
1551. confeſſed a Deſign to imploy ſome to Aſſaſſinate thoſe Lords; and the Perſons named for that wicked Service were alſo perſwaded to take it on them. This being believed by the King, he took no more care to preſerve him, Aſſaſſination being a Crime of ſo barbarous a nature, that it poſſeſſed him with a horrour, even to his Uncle, when he thought him guilty of it: and therefore he was given up to his Enemies Rage. *Stanhop*, *Partridge*, *Arundel*, and *Vane* were tried next; the two firſt were not much pitied, for they had made a very ill uſe of their Intereſt in the Duke during his greatneſs: the other two were much lamented. *Arundel*'s Jury was ſhut up a whole Day and a Night, and thoſe that were for the Acquittal, yielded to the fury of the reſt, only that they might ſave their own Lives, and not be ſtarved. *Vane* had done great Services in the Wars, and carried himſelf with a magnanimity that was thought too extravagant: they were all condemned, and *Partridge* and he were hanged, the other Two were beheaded.

Rich gives up the Great Seal, and it was given to the Biſhop of *Ely*.

The Lord Chancellor was become a ſecret Friend to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and that was thus diſcovered: he went aſide once at Council, and writ a Note, giving the Duke notice of what was then in agitation againſt him, and endorſed it only *for the Duke*, and ſent it to the *Tower*; but his Servant not having particular directions, fanſied it was to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and not to *Somerſet*, and carried it to him. He to make *Northumberland* his Friend, ſent this to him; *Rich* underſtanding the miſtake, in which his Servant had fallen, prevented the diſcovery, and went immediately to the King, and pretending ſome Indiſpoſition, deſired to be diſcharged; and upon that took his Bed, ſo it ſeemed too barbarous to do any thing further againſt him, only the

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Great Seal was taken from him, and was put in the Bishop of *Ely*'s Hands. This was much censured, for all the Reformers had inveighed severely against the secular Imployments, and high Places, which Bishops had in the Church of *Rome*, since by these they were taken wholly off from the Care of Souls, or those spiritual Exercises that might dispose them for it, and assumed only the Name and Garb of Churchmen, to serve their Ambition and Covetousness, and by this the People were much prejudiced against them; so upon *Goodrick*'s advancement, this was turned against the Reformers: it was said, they only complained of those things, when their Enemies enjoyed them, but changed their Minds as soon as they fell into the Hands of their Friends: but *Goodrick* was no Pattern, he complied only with the Reformation, but turned when Queen *Mary* succeeded. Christ said, *Who made me a Judge?* St. *Paul* left it as a Rule, *that no Man that warreth, entangleth himself with the Affairs of this Life.* This Saint *Cyprian*, and the other Fathers understood, as a perpetual prohibition of Churchmen's medling with Secular Matters, and condemned it severely. Many Canons were made against it in Provincial Councils, and a very full one was decreed at *Chalcedon.* But as the Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* grew rich and powerful, they established a sort of secular Principality in the Church: and other Sees, as they encreased in Wealth, affected to imitate them. *Charles* the Great, raised this much every where, and gave great Territories and Priviledges to the Church; upon which, the Bishops and Abbots were not only admitted to a share in the Publick Counsels, by vertue of their Lands, but to all the chief Offices of the State; and then Ecclesiastical Preferments were given to Courtiers, as rewards for their Services: And by these means the Clergy became very corrupt, Merit and Learning being no more the Standards by which

Book II. 1551

Book II. which Men were esteemed or promoted: and Bi-
shops were only considered, as a sort of great Men,
1551. who went in a peculiar Habit, and on great Festivi-
ties were obliged to say Mass, or perform some o-
ther Solemnities, but they wholly abandoned the
Souls committed to their Care, and left the spiri-
tual part of their Callings, to their Vicars and Arch-
Deacons, who made no other use of it, but to
squeeze the Inferiour Clergy, and to oppress the
People: and it was not easy to perswade the World,
that those Bishops did much aspire to Heaven, who
were so indecently thrusting themselves into the
Courts of Princes, and medling so much in Matters
that did not belong to them, that they neglected
those for which they were to account to God.

The Duke of *Somerset*'s Execution.

On the 22 day of *January*, the Duke of *Somer-
set* was executed at *Tower-Hill*, the substance of
his Speech, was a Vindication of himself, " from
" all ill Designs; he confessed his private Sins, and
" acknowledged the Mercies of God, in granting
" him time to Repent: he declared that he had
" acted sincerely in all he did in Matters of Reli-
" gion, while he was in Power: and rejoyced for
" his being instrumental in so good a Work: he ex-
" horted the People to live suitably to the Doctrine
" received among them, otherwise they might look
" for great Judgments from God. As he was going
on, there was an unaccountable Noise heard, which
so frighted the People, that many run away. Sir
Anthony Brown came up riding towards the Scaffold
which made the Spectators think, that he brought
a Pardon, and this occasioned great shouts of Joy,
but they soon saw their Mistakes; so the Duke
went on in his Speech, " He declared his chearful
" submission to the Will of God, and desired
" them likewise to acquiesce in it; he prayed
" for the King and his Council, and exhorted the
" People

" People to continue obedient to them: And asked Book II.
" the forgiveneſs of all whom at any time he
" had offended. Then he turned to his private 1551.
Devotions, and fitted himſelf for the Blow, which upon the Signal given, ſevered his Head from his Body.

He was a Man of extraordinary Virtues, of great Candor, and eminent Piety: He was always a promoter of Juſtice, and a Patron of the oppreſſed. He was a better Captain than a Counſellor, and was too eaſy and open-hearted, to be ſo cautious, as ſuch Times, and ſuch Imployments required. It was generally believed, all this Conſpiracy, for which he, and the other four ſuffered, was only a Forgery: All the other Complices were quickly diſcharged, and *Palmer*, the chief Witneſs, became *Northumberland*'s particular Confident: And the indiſcreet words which the Duke of *Somerſet* had ſpoken, and his gathering armed Men about him, was imputed to *Palmer*'s Artifices, who had put him in fear of his Life, and ſo made him do, and ſay thoſe things, for which he loſt it. His four Friends did all end their Lives, with the moſt ſolemn Proteſtations of their Innocence, and the whole Matter was look'd on as a contrivance of *Northumberland*'s, by which he loſt the Affections of the People entirely. Some reflected on the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Surrey*'s Death, occaſioned likewiſe by a Conſpiracy of their own Servants, in which it was thought this Duke was too active. He was alſo much cenſured for his Brother's Death. He had raiſed much of his Eſtate out of the Spoils of Biſhops Lands, and his Palace out of the Ruins of ſome Churches; and to this ſome added a Remark, that he did not claim the benefit of his Clergy, which would have ſaved him; and ſince he had ſo ſpoiled the Church, they imputed it to a particular Judgment on him, that he forgat it: But in this they were miſtaken,

Book II. mistaken, for in the Act by which he was Condemned, it was provided, that no Clergy should purge that Felony.

1551. The Affairs of *Germany*.

In *Germany*, *Maurice* began this Year to form a great Design: He entred into Correspondences, not only with the Princes of *Germany*, but also with *France* and *England*; and having given intimations of his Designs for the Liberty of *Germany*, and the Security of the Protestant Religion, to some that had great Credit at *Magdeburg*, he brought that Town to a Surrender; and having made himself sure of the Army, he quartered his Troops in the Territories of the Popish Princes, by which they were all much alarmed, only the Emperor did not apprehend the Danger till it was too late for him. A Quarrel fell in between the Pope and the King of *France*, about *Parma*: The Pope threatned, if that King would not restore *Parma*, he would take *France* from him. Upon that, the Council being now again open at *Trent*, the King of *France* protested against it, and declared that he would call a National Council in *France*, and would not obey nor receive their Decrees. The Emperor still pressed the *Germans* to send Ambassadors and Divines to *Trent*. The Council began with the Points about the Eucharist, and it was ordered that these should be handled according to the Scriptures and Ancient Authors; the *Italians* did not like this, and said the bringing many Quotations was only an Act of Memory, and that way would give the *Lutherans* great Advantages: The sublime Speculations of the Schools, together with their Terms, were much safer Weapons to deal with. A Safe Conduct was demanded from the Council, for the Emperor's Conduct was not thought sufficient, since at *Constance*, *John Huss*, and *Jerome* of *Prague* were burnt, though they had the Emperor's Safe Conduct. The Council of *Basil* had granted a very full

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one to the *Bohemians*, ſo the *Lutherans* demanded one in the ſame form; but though one was granted, yet it was in many things ſhort of that. The Elector of *Brandenburg* ſent an Ambaſſador to *Trent*, who made a general Speech of the reſpect his Maſter had for them. The Legates anſwered, and thanked him for ſubmitting to their Decrees, of which the Ambaſſador had not ſaid a word; but when he expoſtulated about it, the Legates ſaid, they anſwered him according to that he ought to have ſaid, and not to that he did ſay. The Council decreed, the manner of Chriſt's Preſence to be ineffable, and yet added that Tranſubſtantiation was a fit term for it; for that was a Notion as unconceiveable as any that could be thought on: Then they decreed the neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion, that thereby Prieſts might keep a proportion between Penances and Sins, which was thought a mockery; for the Trade of ſlight Penances, and eaſy Abſolutions for the greateſt Sins, ſhewed there was no care taken to adjuſt the one to the other. The Ambaſſador of the Duke of *Wirtenburg* came, and moved for a Safe Conduct to their Divines to come and maintain their Doctrine: The Legates anſwered, they would enter into no Diſputes with them; but if they came with an humble Mind, and propoſed their Scruples, they would ſatisfy them. Ambaſſadors from ſome Towns arrived at *Trent*, and thoſe ſent by the Duke of *Saxe* were on their way; upon which, the Emperor ordered his Agents, to gain time, and hinder the Council to proceed in their Deciſions till thoſe were heard, but all he could prevail in, was, that the Article concerning the Communion in both Kinds was poſtponed till they ſhould come. Book II. 1551.

The Day after the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Execution, a Seſſion of Parliament was aſſembled. The firſt Act they paſt, was about the Common-Prayer-Book, 1552. A Seſſion of Parliament.

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Book II. as it was now amended: To it only one Earl, two Biſhops and two Lords diſſented. The Book was
1552. appointed to be every where received after *All-hallows* next. The Biſhops were required to proceed by the Cenſures of the Church, againſt ſuch as came not to it; they alſo authorized the Book of Ordinations, and enacted the ſame Penalties againſt Offenders, that were in the Act for the former Book three Years before. The Papiſts took occaſion on the Changes now made in the Book, to ſay, that the new Doctriues and ways of Worſhip changed as faſt as the Faſhions did. It was anſwered, that it was no wonder if Corruptions, which had been creeping in for a Thouſand Years, were not all diſcovered, and thrown out at once; and ſince they had been every Age making additions of new Ceremonies, it might be excuſed, if the purging them out was done by ſuch eaſy Degrees. The Book was not to be received till *All-hallows*, becauſe it was hoped between that and then the Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws would have been finiſhed. A Bill concerning Treaſons paſt with only one Diſſent: It was much oppoſed in the Houſe of Commons; for the multiplying of Treaſon is always look'd on as a Severity in the Government. One Bill was rejected, but another was agreed on, "If any called the King, or his Succeſ-
" ſors, named in the Statute of 35 *Hen.* 8. Heretick,
" Tyrant, or other opprobrious Words, he was for
" the firſt Offence to be puniſhed with a forfei-
" ture of Goods and Chattels, for the ſecond with a
" *Præmunire*, and the third Offence was made
" Treaſon: But if it was done in Printing or Wri-
" ting, the firſt Offence was Treaſon. None were
" to be proſecuted for Words, but within three
" Months: And two Witneſſes were made neceſſa-
" ry, who ſhould aver their Depoſitions to the Par-
" ties Face. This ſeems to relate to the Proceed-

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ings againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, in which the Witneſſes did not appear, ſo that he loſt the advantage of croſs examining them: And many times Innocence and Guilt diſcover themſelves, when the Parties are confronted. Another Law paſt for Holy-days and Faſts. "No Days were to be eſteemed "*Holy* in their own nature, but by reaſon of thoſe "Holy Duties which ought to be done in them, for "which they were dedicated to the Service of God. "Days were eſteemed to be dedicated only to the "Honour of God, even thoſe in which the Saints "were commemorated; *Sundays*, and the other "Holy-days were to be religiouſly obſerved, and the "Biſhops were to proceed to Cenſures againſt Of-"fenders, only Labourers or Fiſher-men in caſe of "neceſſity might Work on them: The Eves before "them were to be Faſts, and abſtinence from Fleſh "was enacted, both in *Lent*, and on *Fridays* and "*Saturdays*. This Liberty to Tradeſmen to Work on theſe Days was abuſed to a publick Profanation of them, but the ſtricter Clauſes in the Act were little regarded. An Act paſt, impowering Church-Wardens to gather Collections for the Poor, and the Biſhops to proceed againſt ſuch as refuſed to contribute; which though it was a Bill that taxed the People, yet had its firſt riſe in the Houſe of Lords. A Bill was paſt by the Lords, but rejected by the Commons, for ſecuring the Clergy from falling under the Laſh of a *Præmunire* by Ignorance; and that they ought to be firſt prohibited by the King's Writ, and not be ſued, unleſs they continued, after that, ſtiff in their Diſobedience. An Act paſt for the Marriage of the Clergy, four Earls and ſix Lords diſſenting from it: "That whereas the former Act about it was "thought only a permiſſion of it, as ſome other "unlawful things were connived at; upon which "the Wives and Children of the Clergy were re-"proachfully uſed, and the Word of God was not "heard

Book II. 1552.

Book II. "heard with due Reverence; therefore their Mar-
"riages were declared good and valid. The Mar-
1552. queſs of *Northampton* procured an Act, confirming his ſecond Marriage, and that occaſioned another to be propoſed in the Houſe of Lords, That no Man might put away his Wife, and marry another, unleſs he were firſt Divorced; but it was laid aſide by the Commons. The Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter* was re-united to *London*, only the Collegiate Church was ſtill continued.

An Act againſt Uſury

An Act paſt concerning Uſury, repealing a Law made 37 *Hen.* 8. "That none might take above "20 *per Cent.* All Uſury, or profit for Money lent, "was condemned, as contrary to the Word of God, "and Tranſgreſſors were to be impriſoned, and fi-"ned at pleaſure. This has been ſince that time repealed, and ſeveral Regulations have been made of the Gain by lent Money, which is now reduced to 6 *per Cent.* The Prohibitions of Uſury by *Moſes* have been thought Moral; others have believed that they were founded only on the equal diviſion of the Land, and ſince it was then lawful to take Uſury of a Stranger, they have inferred that the Law was not Moral, otherwiſe it muſt be of perpetual Obligation: It was alſo a great incitement to Induſtry not to Lend upon Profit, and it made every Man lay out his Money in ſome way of Advantage, and their Neighbourhood to *Tyre* and *Sidon* gave them a quick vent of their Manufacture, without which it is not eaſy to imagine how ſuch vaſt Numbers could have lived in ſo narrow a Country: So that theſe Laws ſeem'd to be only Judiciary. It was thought at firſt ſuitable to the Brotherly-kindneſs that ought to be among Chriſtians, to Lend without Gain; but at laſt Canons were made againſt taking Uſury, and it was put among the reſerved Caſes. Mortgages were an invention to avoid that, for the uſe was paid as the Rent of the Land

Land mortgaged and not of the Money lent. Inventions alſo were found for thoſe who had no Land to mortgage, to make ſuch Bargains that Gain was made of the Money, and yet not in the way of Uſury. Theſe were Tricks only to deceive People, and it is not eaſy to ſhew how the making ſuch a Gain as holds proportion to the value of Land, is immoral in it ſelf; if the Rule ſetled by Law is not exceeded, and Men deal not unmercifully with thoſe, who by inevitable Accidents are diſabled from making Payment. Another Bill was paſt againſt Simony, the reſerving Penſions out of Benefices, and granting Advowſons while the Incumbent was yet alive, but it had not the Royal Aſſent. Simony had been oft complained of, and many Laws and Canons have been made againſt it, but new Contrivances are ſtill found out to elude them all: and it is a Diſeaſe that will ſtill hang on the Church, as long as Covetouſneſs and Ambition ferment ſo ſtrongly in the Minds of Church men. Book II. 1552.

A Bill was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, ſigned by the King, repealing the Settlement of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Eſtate, 23 *Hen.* 8. made in favour of his Children by his Second Wife, to exclude the Children by his firſt, of whom are deſcended the *Seymours* of *Devonſhire*, which ſome imputed to a Jealouſy he had of his firſt Wife, and others aſcribed it to the Power his ſecond Wife had over him. But the Commons were very unwilling to void a Settlement confirmed in Parliament, and ſo for fifteen Days it was debated: A new Bill was deviſed, and that was much altered, and the Bill was not finiſhed till the Day before the Diſſolution of the Parliament. The Lords added a Proviſo, confirming the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Attainder, but that was caſt out by the Commons. Some Writings had been Sealed with relation to a Marriage between the Earl of *Hartford*, the Duke's Son, and the Earl of *Oxford*'s Daughter, and the

A Repeal of the Settlement of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Eſtate.

Book II. Lords ſent down a Bill voiding theſe, but upon a diviſion in the Houſe of Commons, 68 were for it, and 69 were againſt it; ſo it was caſt out. The Houſe was now thin, when we find but 137 Members in it: But that is one of the effects of a long Parliament: many grow infirm, and many keep out of the way on deſign, and thoſe who at their firſt Election were the Repreſentatives of the People, after they have ſat long, become a Cabal of Men, that purſue their own Intereſts, more than the Publick Service. *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, upon ſome Informations, was put in Priſon in the former Year: The Duke of *Northumberland* intended to erect a great Principality for his Family in the North; and the acceſſion of the Juriſdiction of the County *Palatine*, which is in that See, ſeemed ſo conſiderable, that he reſolved to ruin *Tonſtall*, and ſo make way for that. He complied in all the Changes that were made, though he had proteſted againſt them in Parliament; he writ alſo for the Corporal Preſence, but with more Eloquence than Learning: He was a candid and moderate Man, and there was always a good Correſpondence between *Cranmer* and him: And now when the Bill was put in againſt him, he oppoſed it, and proteſted againſt it, by which he abſolutely loſt the Duke of *Northumberland*: But all the Popiſh complying Biſhops went along with it. There were ſome Depoſitions read in the Houſe of Lords to juſtify it, but when the Bill with theſe was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, they reſolved to put a ſtop to that way of condemning Men without hearing them: So they ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, that he and his Accuſers might be heard Face to Face, and that not being done, they let the Bill fall. By theſe Indications, it appeared that the Houſe of Commons had little kindneſs for the Duke of *Northumberland*. Many of them had been much obliged to the Duke of *Somerſet*; ſo it was reſolved

1552.

Tonſtall is impriſoned.

to

to have a new Parliament, and this which had ſat al- Book II.
moſt five Years, was on the 15th of *April* Diſſolved.

The Convocation did confirm the Articles of Re- 1552.
ligion, that had been prepared the former Year, and A Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Laws prepared.
thus was the Reformation of Worſhip and Doctrine now brought to ſuch perfection, that ſince that time there has been very little alteration made in theſe. But another Branch of it was yet unfiniſhed, and was now under Conſultation, touching the Government of the Church, and the Rules of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Two Acts had paſſed in the former Reign, and one in this, impowering XXXII to reviſe all the Laws of the Church, and digeſt them into a Body. King *Henry* iſſued out a Commiſſion, and the Perſons were named, who made ſome progreſs in it, as appears by ſome of *Cranmer*'s Letters to him. In this Reign it had been begun ſeveral times; but the Changes in the Government made it be laid aſide. Thirty two were found to be too many for preparing the firſt Draught, ſo eight were appointed to make it ready for them: Theſe were *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, *Cox* and *Peter Martyr*, *Traheron* and *Taylor*, and *Lucas*, and *Goſnold*, two Biſhops, two Divines, two Civilians, and two Common Lawyers; but it was generally believed, that *Cranmer* drew it all himſelf, and the reſt only corrected what he deſigned. *Haddon* and *Cheek* were imployed to put it in *Latin*; in which they ſucceeded ſo well, and arrived at ſo true a purity in the *Roman* ſtile, that it looks like a Work of the beſt Ages of that State, before their Language was corrupted with the mixture of barbarous Terms and Phraſes, with which all the later Writings were filled, but none were more nauſeouſly rude than the Books of the Canon-Law. The Work was caſt into fifty one Titles; perhaps it was deſigned to bring it near the number of the Books, into which *Juſtinian* digeſted the *Roman* Law. The Eight finiſhed it, and offered it

Book II. to the XXXII; who divided themſelves into four Claſſes, every one was to offer his Corrections, and
1552. when it had paſt through them all, it was to be offered to the King for his Confirmation; but the King died before it was quite finiſhed, nor was it ever afterwards taken up: Yet I ſhall think it no uſeleſs part of this Work, to give an account of what was intended to be done in this Matter, as well as I relate what was done in other things.

The Heads of it. The firſt Title of it was concerning the Catholick Faith: It was made Capital to deny the Chriſtian Religion. The Books of Scripture were reckoned up, and the Apocraphy left out. The four firſt General Councils were received, but both Councils and Fathers were to be ſubmitted to, only as they agreed with the Scriptures. The ſecond enumerates and condemns many Hereſies, extracted out of the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*, and the Tenets of the Anabaptiſts: And among others, thoſe who excuſed their Lives, by the pretence of Predeſtination, are reckoned up. 3. The Judgment of Hereſy was to lie in the Biſhops Court, except in exempted Places. Perſons ſuſpected might be required to purge themſelves, and thoſe who were convicted, were to abjure and do Penance; but ſuch as were obſtinate, were declared Infamous, and not to have the benefit of the Law, or of making Teſtaments, and ſo all Capital Proceedings for Hereſy were laid aſide. 4. Blaſphemy againſt God was to be puniſhed as obſtinate Hereſy. 5. The Sacraments, and other parts of the Paſtoral Charge, were to be decently performed. 6. All Magick, Idolatry, or Conjuring was to be puniſhed arbitrarily, and in caſe of Obſtinacy, with Excommunication. 7. Biſhops were appointed once a Year to call all their Clergy together, to examine them concerning their Flocks: And Itenerant Preachers were to be often imployed for viſiting ſuch Precincts as might be put under

under their care. 8. All Marriages were to be after asking of Banes, and to be annulled, if not done according to the Book of Common-Prayer. Corrupters of Virgins were to marry them; or if that could not be done, to give them the third part of their Goods, and ſuffer Corporal Puniſhment. Marriages made by force, or without conſent of Parents, were declared null. Polygamy was forbid, and Mothers were required to ſuckle their Children. 9. The degrees of Marriage were ſetled according to the *Levitical* Law, but Spiritual Kindred was to be no Bar. 10. A Clegy man guilty of Adultery, was to forfeit his Goods and Eſtate to his Wife and Children, or to ſome pious uſe; and to be Baniſhed or Impriſoned during Life: A Lay-man guilty of it, was to forfeit the half, and be Baniſhed or Impriſoned during Life: Wives that were guilty, were to be puniſhed in the ſame manner. The Innocent Party might marry again after a Divorce. Deſertion, or mortal Enmity, or the conſtant Perverſeneſs of a Husband, might induce a Divorce, but little Quarrels, nor a perpetual Diſeaſe might not do it; and the ſeparation from Bed and Board, except during a Tryal, was never to be allowed. 11. Patrons were charged to give Preſentations, without making Bargains; to chuſe the fitteſt Perſons, and not to make Promiſes till the Livings were vacant. The Biſhops were required to uſe great ſtrictneſs in the Tryal of thoſe whom they Ordained: All Pluralities and Non-reſidence were condemned, and all that were Preſented were to purge themſelves of Simony by Oath. The *Twelfth* and *Thirteenth* was concerning the changing of Benefices. The fourteenth was concerning the manner of Purgation upon common fame; all Superſtitious Purgations were condemned. Others followed, about Dilapidations, Elections and Collations. The nineteenth was concerning Divine Offices. The

Book II. 1552.

Book II. Communion was ordered to be every Sunday in Ca-
thedrals, and a Sermon was to be in them in the Af-
1552. ternoon: Such as received the Sacrament, were to give notice to the Miniſter the Day before, that he might examine their Conſciences: The Catechiſm was appointed to be explained for an Hour in the Afternoon on Holy-days: After the Evening-Prayer, the Poor were to be taken care of, Penances were to be enjoyned to Scandalous Perſons, and the Miniſter was to confer with ſome of the Ancients of the People, concerning the ſtate of the Pariſh, that Admonitions and Cenſures might be applied, as there was occaſion given. The twentieth was concerning other Church-Officers. A Rural Dean was to be in every Precinct, to watch over the Clergy, according to the Biſhops Directions: Arch-Deacons were to be over them, and the Biſhop over all: who was to have Yearly Synods, and viſit every third Year. His Family was to conſiſt of Clergymen, in imitation of St. *Auſtin*, and other ancient Biſhops, theſe he was to train up for the Service of the Church. When Biſhops became infirm, they were to have Co-adjutors: Archbiſhops were to do the Epiſcopal Duties in their Dioceſs, and to viſit their Province. Every Synod was to begin with a Communion, and after that, the Miniſters were to give an account of their Pariſhes, and follow ſuch Directions as the Biſhops ſhould give them. Other Heads followed concerning Church-Wardens, Tithes, Univerſities, Viſitations, and ſeveral ſorts of Cenſures. In the thirtieth, a large Scheme was drawn of Excommunication, which was intruſted to Church-men, for keeping the Church pure, and was not to be inflicted, but for Obſtinacy in ſome groſs Fault: All Cauſes upon which it was pronounced, were to be examined before the Miniſter of the Pariſh, a Juſtice of Peace, and ſome other Church-men. It was to be pronounced and intima-

ted

ted with great Seriouſneſs, and all were to be warned not to keep company with the Perſon cenſured, under the like pains, except thoſe of his own Family: Upon his continuing forty Days obſtinate under it, a Writ was to be iſſued out for Commitment, till the Sentence ſhould be taken off. Such as had the King's Pardon for Capital Offences, were yet liable to Church-Cenſures. Then followed the Office of abſolving Penitents. They were to come to the Church-door, and crave admittance, and the Miniſter having brought them in, was to read a long Diſcourſe concerning Sin, Repentance, and the Mercies of God. Then the Party was to confeſs his Sin, and to ask God and the Congregation Pardon; upon which the Miniſter was to lay his Hands on his Head, and to pronounce the Abſolution. Then a Thankſgiving was to be offered to God, at the Communion-Table, for the reclaiming that Sinner. The other Heads of this Work, relate to the other parts of the Law of thoſe Courts. It is certain, that the abounding of Vice and Impiety, flows in a great meaſure from the want of that ſtrictneſs of Cenſure which was the Glory of the Chriſtian Church in the Primitive times: And it is a publick connivance at Sin, that there have not been more effectual ways taken for making Sinners aſhamed, and denying them the Priviledges of Chriſtians, till they have changed their ill courſe of Life. Book II. 1552.

There were at this time alſo Remedies under conſideration, for the great miſery and Poverty the Clergy were generally in: But the Laity were ſo much concerned to oppoſe all theſe, that there was no hope of bringing them to any good Effect, till the King ſhould come to be of Age himſelf, and endeavour to recover again a competent Maintenance for the Clergy, out of their Hands who had devoured their Revenues. Both *Heath* and *Day*, the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, were this Year de- The Poverty of the Clergy.

Book II. prived of their Biſhopricks, by a Court of Delegates, that were all Lay-men, But it does not appear for
1552. what Offences they were ſo cenſured. The Biſhopricks of *Glouceſter* and *Worceſter* were both united, and put under *Hooper*'s care; but ſoon after, the former was made an exempted Archdeaconry, and he was declared Biſhop only of *Worceſter*. In every See, as it fell vacant, the beſt Mannors were laid hold on by ſuch hungry Courtiers, as had the Intereſt to procure the Grant of them. It was thought, that the Biſhops Sees were ſo out of meaſure enriched, that they could never be made poor enough: But ſuch haſte was made in ſpoiling them, that they were reduced to ſo low a Condition, that it was hardly poſſible for a Biſhop to ſubſiſt in them. If what had been thus taken from them, had been converted to good Uſes, ſuch as the ſupplying the inferior Clergy, it had been ſome mitigation of ſo heinous a Robbery: But their Lands were ſnatched up by Lay-men, who thought of making no compenſation to the Church for the Spoils thus made by them.

Affairs in *Ireland.* This Year the Reformation had ſome more footing in *Ireland* than formerly. *Henry* VIII. had aſſumed to himſelf, by conſent of the Parliament of that Kingdom, the Title of *King of Ireland*: The former Kings of *England* having only been called *Lords* of it. The Popes and Emperors have pretended, that ſuch Titles could be given only by them: The former ſaid, all Power in Heaven and Earth was given to Chriſt, and by conſequence to his Vicar. The latter, as carrying the Title of *Roman* Emperor, pretended, that as they anciently beſtowed thoſe Titles; ſo that devolved on them, who retained only the name and ſhadow of that great Authority. But Princes and States have thought that they may bring themſelves under what Titles they pleaſe. In *Ireland*, though the Kings of *England* were well obeyed within

in the *Engliſh* Pale, yet the *Iriſh* continued barbarous and uncivilized, and depended on the Heads of their Names or Tribes, and were obedient, or did rebel as they directed them. In *Ulſter* they had a great dependance on *Scotland*, and there were ſome Riſings there, during the War with *Scotland*, which were quieted, by giving the Leading Men Penſions, and getting them to come and live within the *Engliſh* Pale. *Monluc*, Biſhop of *Valence*, being then in *Scotland*, went over thither to engage them to raiſe new Commotions; but that had no effect: While he was there, his Laciviouſneſs came to be diſcovered by an odd Accident; for a Whore was brought to him by ſome *Engliſh* Friers, and ſecretly kept by him: But ſhe ſearching among his Cloaths, fell on a Glaſs, full of ſomewhat that was very odoriferous, and drank it off; which being diſcovered by the Biſhop, too late, put him in a moſt violent paſſion: For it had been given him, as a Preſent, by *Soliman* the Magnificent, when he was Ambaſſador at his Court. It was called the richeſt Balm of *Egypt*, and valued at 2000 Crowns. His rage grew ſo boiſterous, that all about him diſcovered both his Paſſion, and Lewdneſs at once. The Reformation was ſet up in the *Engliſh* Pale, but had made a ſmall progreſs among the *Iriſh*. This Year *Bale* was ſent over to labour among them. He was a buſy Writer, and was a Learned Zealous Man, but did not write with the temper and decency that became a Divine. *Goodaker* was ſent to be Primate of *Armagh*, and *He* was to be Biſhop of *Oſſory*. Two *Iriſh* Men were alſo promoted with them; who undertook to advance the Reformation there. The Archbiſhop of *Dublin* intended to have Ordained them by the old Pontifical, and all, except *Bale*, were willing it ſhould be ſo, but he prevailed that it ſhould be done according to the new Book of Ordinations: After that he went into his Dioceſs, but found all there

Book II. 1552.

Book II. there in dark Popery, and before he could make any Progress the King's Death put an end to his Designs. There was a change setled in the Order of the Garter this Year. A Proposition was made the former Year, to consider how the Order might be freed from the Superstition, that was supposed to be in it. St. *George*'s fighting with a Dragon, lookt like a Legend forged in dark Ages, to support the Humour of Chivalry, then very high in the World. The story was neither credible in it self, nor vouched by any good Author: Nor was there any of that Name mentioned by the Ancients, but *George* the *Arrian* Bishop, that was put in *Alexandria*, when *Athanasius* was banished. Some Knights were appointed to prepare a Reformation of the Order: And the Earl of *Westmorland*, and Sir *Andrew Dudley* were this Year Installed according to the new Model. It was appointed to be called in all time coming, the Order of the *Garter*, and no more the Order of St. *George*; instead of the former *George*, there was to be on the one side of the Jewel, a Man on Horseback, with a Bible on his Sword's Point: On the Sword was written *Protectio*, and on the Bible *Verbum Dei*; and on the Reverse a Shield, and *Fides* written upon it: To shew that they would maintain the Word of God, both with offensive and defensive Weapons: But all this was reversed by Queen *Mary*, and the old Statutes were again revived, which continue to this Day.

1552. A Change in the Garter.

Northumberland's severity.

There was at this time a strict enquiry made into the accounts of all, who had been imployed in the former part of this Reign; for it was believed, that the Visitors had embezel'd much of the Plate of the Churches: and these were the Creatures of the Duke of *Somerset*, which made *Northumberland* prosecute them more vehemently: On none did this fall more severely, than on the Lord *Paget*, who was not only fined in 6000 *l.* but was degraded from the Order

of

of the Garter, with a particular mark of Infamy on his Extraction; yet he was afterwards reſtored to it with as much honour. He had been a conſtant Friend to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and that made his Enemies execute ſo ſevere a Revenge on him. *Northumberland* was preparing matters for a Parliament, and being a Man of an Inſolent temper, no leſs abject when he was low, than lifted up with proſperity, he thought extream ſeverity was the only way to bring the Nation eaſily to comply with his adminiſtration of affairs; but this, though it ſucceeded for ſome time, yet when he needed it moſt, it turned violently upon him: For nothing can work on a free People ſo much, as Juſtice and Clemency in the Government. Book II. 1552.

A great deſign was ſetled this Year, which proved to be the foundation of all that Wealth and Trade, that has ſince that time flouriſhed ſo much in this Nation. *Henry* the III. had been much ſupported in his Wars, by the aſſiſtance he got from the Free-Towns of *Germany*, in recompence of which he gave them great Priviledges in *England*. They were formed here in a Corporation, and lived in the *Still-Yard* near *London-Bridge*. They had gone ſometimes beyond their Charters, which were thereupon judged to be forfeited, but by great Preſents they purchaſed new ones. They traded in a Body, and ſo ruined others by under-ſelling them; and by making Preſents at *Court*, or lending great Summs, they had the Government on their ſide. Trade was now riſing much, Courts began to be more Magnificent, ſo that there was a greater conſumption, particularly of Cloth, than formerly. *Antwerp* and *Hamburgh* lying, the one near the mouth of the *Rhine*, and the other at the mouth of the *Elbe*, had then the chief Trade in theſe Parts of the World; and their Factors in the *Still-Yard*, had all the Markets in *England* in their hands; and ſet ſuch Prices, both on what they import- Trade flouriſhes much.

Book II. imported or exported, as they pleaſed, and broke all other Merchants to ſuch a degree, that the former
1552. Year they had ſhipped *Forty four thouſand* Clothes, and all the other Traders had not ſhipped above 1100. So the Merchant-adventurers complained of the *Still-Yard* Men, and after ſome hearings, it was judged that they had forfeited their Charter, and that their Company was diſſolved: nor could all the applications of the *Hanſe* Towns, ſeconded by the Emperour's Interceſſion, procure them a new Charter. But a greater deſign was propoſed, after this was ſettled; which was to open two free *Mart* Towns in *England*, and to give them ſuch Priviledges, as the free Towns in the Empire had, and by that means to draw the Trade to *England*: *Southampton* and *Hull* were thought the fitteſt. This was ſo far entertained by the young King, that he writ a large Paper, ballancing the conveniencies and inconveniencies of it, but all that fell with his Life.

Cardan in *England.* This year *Cardan*, the great Philoſopher of that Age, paſt through *England*, as he returned from *Scotland*. The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* had ſent for him out of *Italy*, to cure him of a Dropſie: in which he had good ſucceſs; but being much converſant in Aſtrology and Magick, he told him he could not change his fate, and that he was to be hanged. He waited on King *Edward* as he returned, and was ſo charmed with his great knowledge and rare qualities, that he always ſpake of him, as the rareſt Perſon he had ever ſeen: and after his death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he writ the following Character of him.

'All the Graces were in him: he had many 'Tongues, when he was yet but a Child; together 'with the *Engliſh*, his Natural Tongue, he had both '*Latin* and *French*; nor was he ignorant, as I hear, 'of the *Greek*, *Italian*, and *Spaniſh* and perhaps 'ſome more; But for the *Engliſh*, *French* and *La-*

'*tin*

'*tin*, he was exact in them, and was apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ignorant of Logick, of the Principles of Natural Philoſophy, nor of Muſick; The ſweetneſs of his Temper was ſuch as became a Mortal, his Gravity becoming the Majeſty of a King, and his Diſpoſition was ſuitable to his high Degree: In ſum, that Child was ſo bred, had ſuch parts, and was of ſuch expectation, that he looked like a Miracle of a Man: Theſe things are not ſpoken Rhetorically, and beyond the Truth, but are indeed ſhort of it. And afterwards he adds, 'He was a marvellous Boy; when I was with him, he was in the 15th year of his Age, in which he ſpake *Latin* as politely, and as promptly as I did: He asked me, what was the ſubject of my Book, *de Rerum varietate*, which I dedicated to him? I anſwered, that in the firſt Chapter, I gave the true cauſe of Comets, which had been long enquired into, but was never found out before. What is it, ſaid he? I ſaid, it was the concourſe of the Light of wandring Stars. He anſwered, how can that be, ſince the Stars move in different motions? How comes it that the Comets are not ſoon diſſipated, or do not move after them, according to their motions. To this I anſwered, they do move after them, but much quicker than they, by reaſon of the different aſpect, as we ſee in Cryſtal, or when a Rain-bow rebounds from a Wall: for a little change makes a great difference of place. But the King ſaid, How can that be, where there is no ſubject to receive that Light, as the Wall is the ſubject for the Rain-bow? To this I anſwered, That this was as in the Milky way, or where many Candles were lighted, the middle place, where their ſhining met, was white and clear. From this little taſt, it may be imagined what he was. And indeed the ingenuity, and ſweetneſs of his Diſpoſition had raiſed

Book II. 1552.

Book II. 'raiſed in all good, and learned Men the greateſt
'expectation of him poſſible. He began to love the
1552. 'Liberal Arts before he knew them, and to know
'them before he could uſe them: and in him there
'was ſuch an Attempt of Nature, that not only
'*England*, but the World hath reaſon to lament his
'being ſo early ſnatcht away. How truly was it
'ſaid of ſuch extraordinary Perſons, that their
'Lives are ſhort, and ſeldom do they come to be
'old? He gave us an Eſſay of Vertue, though he did
'not live to give a Pattern of it. When the gravi-
'ty of a King was needful, he carried himſelf like
'an old Man, and yet he was always affable, and
'gentle, as became his Age. He played on the Lute;
'he medled in Affairs of State: and for Bounty, he
'did in that emulate his Father; though he, even
'when he endeavoured to be too good, might ap-
'pear to have been bad: but there was no ground
'of ſuſpecting any ſuch thing in the Son, whoſe
'mind was cultivated by the ſtudy of Philoſophy.

Theſe extraordinary bloſſoms gave but too good reaſon to fear, that a fruit which ripened ſo faſt, could not laſt long.

Affairs in *Scotland*. In *Scotland* there was a great change in the Government: and the Governor was dealt with, to reſign it to the Queen Dowager, who returned this Year from *France*, and was treated with all that reſpect that was due to her rank, as ſhe paſt through *England*. She brought Letters to the Governour, adviſing him to reſign it to her, but in ſuch terms, that he ſaw he muſt either do it, or maintain his power by force: he was a ſoft Man, and was the more eaſily wrought on, becauſe his ambitious Brother was then deſperately ill: but when he recovered, and found what he had done, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure at it in very vehement terms. The young Queen of *Scotlands* Uncles propoſed a Match for her with the *Dauphin*, which had been long in diſcourſe,

and

and the King of *France* inclined much to it. Constable *Monmorancy* opposed it: He observed how much *Spain* suffered, in having so many Territories at a distance: though those were the best Provinces of *Europe*. So he reckoned the keeping *Scotland*, would cost *France* more than ever it could be worth: A Revolt to *England* would be easie, and the sending Fleets and Armies thither would be a vast charge: He therefore advised the King, rather to marry her to some of the Princes of the Blood, and to send them to *Scotland*, and so by a small Pension, that Kingdom would be preserved in the Interests of *France*. But the Constable was a known Enemy to the House of *Guise*, and so those wise advices were little considered, and were imputed to the fears he had of so great a strengthening, as this would have given to their Interest at Court. In *Scotland* there were now two Factions: the one was headed by the Archbishop, and all the Clegry were in it, who were jealous of the Queen, as leaning too much to some Lords, who were believed to incline to the Reformation; of whom the Prior of St. *Andrews*, afterwards the Earl of *Murray* was the chief: These offered to serve the Queen in all her designs; in particular, in sending the Matrimonial Crown to *France*, upon their young Queen's Marriage with the *Dauphin*, if she would defend them from the Violence of the Clergy in Matters of Religion, which being made generally subservient to other Interests in all Courts, this was well entertained by the Queen, though she was otherwise very zealous in her own Religion.

There was a great and unexpected turn this Year, in the Affairs of *Germany*. The Emperor's Ministers began to entertain some jealousy of *Maurice*, so that the Duke of *Alva* advised the Emperor to call for him, and so to take him off from the Head of the Army; and then make him give an account of some

Affairs in *Germany*.

Book II. 1552. some suspicious passages, in his treating with other Princes: But the Bishop of *Arras* said, he had both his Secretaries in Pay, and he knew by their means all his Negotiations, and relied so on their Intelligence, that he prevailed with the Emperor not to provoke him, by seeming distrustful of him. But *Maurice* knew all this, and deluded his Secretaries, so that he seemed to open to them all his secretest Negotiations; yet he really let them know nothing, but what he was willing should come to the Emperor's Ears, and had managed his Treaties so secretly, that they had not the least suspicion of them. At last the Emperor was so possest with the Advertisements that were sent him from all Parts, that he writ to *Maurice* to come and clear himself; and then he refined it higher: For he presently left the Army, and took Post, with one of his Secretaries, and a small Retinue: After a Day's riding, he complained of a pain in his Side, so that he could not go on, but sent his Secretary with his Excuses: This appearance of Confidence made the Emperor lay down all his Jealousies of him. He had also sent his Ambassadors to *Trent*, and had ordered *Melancthon*, and some Divines to follow them slowly, and as soon as a safe conduct was obtained, to go to *Trent*. The Emperor's Agents had a hard task, between the Legates and the *Lutherans*: They dealt with the Legates to hear the other; but they answered, that it was against the Rules of the Church, to treat with professed Hereticks. The *Lutherans* on the other hand, made such high demands, that they had as much to do to moderate them: They prest them not to ask too much at once, and promised, that if they would proceed prudently, the Emperor would concur with them, to pull down the Pope's Power. and to reform Abuses. A Safe Conduct was demanded, such as had been granted by the Coucil of *Basil*, that their Divines might have a Decisive Voice, and the

the free exercise of their Religion, and that all things might be examined according to the Scriptures. But the Legates abhorred the name of that Council, that had acted so much against the Papal Authority, and had granted such a Conduct, that so they might unite *Germany*, and engage the Empire to joyn with them against the Pope. The Ambassadors from the *Lutherans* were heard in a General Congregation, where they gave the Council a very cold Complement, and desired a Safe Conduct. The Pope understood, that the Emperor was resolved to set on the *Spanish* Bishops to bear down the Power of the Court of *Rome*; therefore he united himself to *France*, and resolved to break the Council on the first occasion, upon which he ordered the Legates to proceed to settle the Doctrine; hoping the Protestants would upon that despair of Favour, and go away. But while these things were in agitation, the War of *Germany* broke out, and the Legates suspended the Council for two Years. Book II. 1552.

After this, I shall have no occasion to speak more of this Council, so I shall offer this Remark here, that this Council had been much desired both by Princes and Bishops, in hopes that Differences of Religion should have been composed in it, and that the Corruptions of the Court of *Rome* would have been reformed by it, and that had made the Popes very apprehensive of it: But such was the cunning of the Legates, the number of *Italian* Bishops, and the dissentions of the Princes of *Europe*, that it had effects quite contrary to what all sides expected. The Breach in Religion was put past reconciling, by the positive Decisions they made: The Abuses of the Court of *Rome* were confirmed by the Proviso's, made in favour of the Priviledges of the Apostolick See: And the World was so cured of their longings for a General Council, that none has been desired since that time. The History of that Council was writ with great

An Account of the Council of *Trent*.

Book II. Exactneſs and Judgment, by Father *Paul* of *Venice*, while the thing was freſh in all Mens Memories;
1552. and though it diſcovered the whole Secret of Tranſactions there, yet none ſet himſelf to write againſt it, for Forty Years after: Of late then *Pallavicini* undertook it, and upon the credit of many Memorials, he in many things contradicts Father *Paul*; but as many of theſe are likely enough to be forged, ſo in the main of the Hiſtory, they both agree ſo far, that it is manifeſt, things were not fairly carried, and that all Matters were managed by Intrigues and ſecret Practices, in which it will be very hard to diſcern ſuch a particular conduct of the Holy Ghoſt, as ſhould induce the World to ſubmit to their Authority: And indeed, *Pallavicini* was aware of this, and therefore he lays down this for a foundation; 'That 'there muſt be a Principality in the Church, ſup-'ported by great Wealth and Dignity; and many 'Practices are now neceſſary that are contrary to 'what were in the Primitive time, which was the 'Infancy of the Church, and ought not to be a Rule 'to it now, when it is grown up to its full ſtate.

The Emperor's Deſigns are blaſted.

Maurice declared for the Liberty of *Germany*, and took *Ausburg*, and ſeveral other Towns. The King of *France* fell alſo in upon the Empire, with a great Force, and by ſurprize made himſelf Maſter of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Vordun*, and thought to have got *Straſburg*. *Maurice* ſent his Demands to the Emperor for the Landgrave's Liberty, and for reſtoring the Freedom of the Empire: And the Emperor being ſlow in making Anſwer, he marched on to *Inſpruck*, where he ſurprized a Poſt, and was within two Miles of him, before he was aware of it, ſo that the Emperor was fain to fly away by Torch-light: and from thence went to *Italy*. Thus that very Army and Prince, that had been chiefly Inſtrumental in the ruin of the Empire, did now again aſſert its Freedom; and all the Emperor's great Deſign on *Germany*

many was now ſo blaſted, that he could never after this put any life in it: He was forced to diſcharge his Priſoners, and to call in the Proſcriptions, and after ſome Treaty, at laſt the Edict of *Paſſaw* was made, by which the free exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion was granted to the Princes and Towns: And ſo did that Storm, which had almoſt overwhelmed the Princes of that Perſwaſion end, without any other conſiderable effect, beſides the Tranſlation of the Electoral Dignity from *John* to *Maurice*. The Emperor's Misfortunes increaſed on him, for againſt all Reaſon he beſieged *Metz* in *December*, but after he had ruined his Army in it, he was forced to raiſe the Siege. Upon that he retired into *Flanders*, in ſuch diſcontent, that for ſome time he would admit none to come to him. Here it was believed, he firſt formed that Deſign, which ſome Years after he put in execution, of forſaking the World, and exchanging the Pomp of a Court, with the retirement of a Monaſtery. This ſtrange and unlookt for turn in his Affairs, gave a great demonſtration of an over-ruling Providence, that governs all Human Affairs, and of that particular Care that God had of the Reformation, in recovering it, when it ſeemed to be gone, without all hope, in *Germany*. Book II. 1552.

In the beginning of this Year, there was a Regulation made of the Privy Council. Several Committees had proper Work aſſigned them, and Directions given them for their Conduct; of which there is an account extant, corrected with King *Edward*'s Hand. A new Parliament was called, and ſat down the firſt of *March*; a motion was made for a Subſidy of two Tenths, and two Fifteenths to be paid in two Years: At the paſſing of the Bill there was a great Debate about it in the Houſe of Commons, which ſeems to have been about the Preamble, for it contained a high Accuſation of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Adminiſtration, and was ſet on by the Duke 1553.

Book II. of *Northumberland*'s Party, to let the King see how well pleased the Representative of the Nation was with his Fall.

1553.

A Bill proposed that Lay-men should not hold Church Dignities.

The Sons of the Nobility and Gentry had ordinarily Prebends given them, under this pretence, that they intended to follow their Studies, and make themselves capable of entring into Orders: And this was like to become a great prejudice to the Clergy, when so many of the Dignities of the Church were in Lay-Hands. Upon this, the Bishops procured a Bill to be past in the House of Lords, that none might hold these, that was not either Priest or Deacon: But at the third reading, the Commons threw it out.

An Act suppressing the Bishop of *Durham*.

Another Bill past for suppessing the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and erecting two new Sees, the one at *Durham*, and the other at *Newcastle*; the former was to have 2000, and the latter 1000 Marks Revenue; there was also a Dean and a Chapter to be endowed at *Newcastle*. *Ridley* was designed to be made Bishop of *Durham*. But though the secular Jurisdiction of that See was given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, yet the King's Death stopt the further progress of this Affair. *Tonstall* was deprived, as *Heath* and *Day* were, by a Court of Lay-Delegates, upon the Informations that had been brought against him of Misprision of Treason, and was kept in the *Tower* till Queen *Mary* set him at liberty. The King granted a General Pardon, in which the Commons moved the Lords, that some words might be put, though that is not usual to be done; for Acts of Pardon, are commonly past without any Changes made in them: After the passing these Acts, the Parliament was Dissolved on the last of *March*. For it seems either the Duke of *Northumberland* was not pleased with the proceedings in the House of Commons, or he was resolved to call frequent Parliaments, and not continue the same, as the Duke of *Somerset* had done.

Visitors

Visitors were sent after this to Examine what Plate was in every Church, and to leave them one or two Chalices of Silver, with Linnen, for the Communion-Table, and for Surplices, and to bring in all other things of value to the Treasurer of the King's Household, and to sell the rest, and give it to the Poor. This was a new rifling of Churches, by which it seemed some resolved not to cease, till they had brought them to a Primitive Poverty, as well as the Reformers intended to bring them to a Primitive Purity. The King set his Hand to these Instructions, from which some have inferred, that he was ill Principled in himself, when at such an Age, he joyned his Authority to such Proceedings. But he was now so ill, that it is probable, he set his Hand to every thing, that the Council sent him, without examining anxiously what it might import. Book II. 1553. Another Visitation.

Skip, Bishop of *Hereford*, dying, *Harley* succeeded him, and was the last that was promoted by the King's Letters Patents; as *Barlow* was the first, being removed by them, from St. *Davids* to *Bath* and *Wells*. The form of the Patent was, 'That the 'King appointed such a one to be Bishop during his 'Natural Life, or as long as he behaved himself 'well: And gave him Power to Ordain or Deprive 'Ministers, to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, 'and perform all the other parts of the Episcopal 'Function, that by the Word of God were commit-'ed to Bishops, and this they were to do in the 'King's Name, and by his Authority. *Ferrar* was put in St. *Davids*, upon *Barlow*'s removal: He was an indiscreet Man; and drew upon himself the dislike of his Prebendaries, and many Complaints were made of him, which, if true, discovered great weakness in him: At last he was sued in a *Præmunire*, for acting in his own Name, and not in the King's, in his Courts; and was put in Prison, where he continued, till *Morgan*, that was his chief Accu-

Bishops made by the King's Patent.

Book II. ſer, being put in his place by Queen *Mary*, condemned him to the Fire; which turned all former
1553. Cenſures, that he had given occaſion for, by his ſimplicity, into eſteem and compaſſion. By theſe Patents, the Epiſcopal Power was ſtill declared to flow from Chriſt; they were only Preſentations to Biſhopricks, ſuch as other Patrons gave to inferiour Benefices; and ſuch as Chriſtian Princes in *France*, and other Kingdoms gave in elder times, for Biſhopricks. Their Courts were ordered to be held in the King's Name; but all this was repealed by Queen *Mary*: And when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, inſtead of reviving this, ſhe revived that made in the 25 *Henry* 8. by which, Biſhops were authorized to hold their Courts, as they had done formerly: And though Queen *Mary*'s repeal of the Statute of this King, was afterwards taken away, ſo that this Act ſeemed thereby to be again in force; yet, Queen *Elizabeth*'s reviving that made by her Father, was underſtood to be, in effect, a Repeal of it: So that in King *James*'s time, when ſome ſcruples were ſtarted about it, the Judges did not think it neceſſary to make an Explanatory Act, to clear the Matter, for the thing did not ſeem to admit of any debate. A new and fuller Catechiſm was this Year compoſed by *Poinet*, and was publiſhed with the King's approbation.

Affairs in *Germany*. The ſtate of Affairs beyond Sea, was now quite turned, ſo that the Progreſs the *French* had made, ſet the *Engliſh* Council on mediating a Peace. The Emperor repreſented to them the danger the *Netherlands* were in, ſince the *French* were Maſters of *Metz*, and ſo could in a great meaſure divide them from the aſſiſtance that they might receive from the Empire; therefore he deſired that according to the Ancient Leagues between *England* and the Houſe of *Burgundy*, they would now engage againſt the *French*. The Council ſent over Ambaſſadours, both

to the Emperor, and the *French* King, to mediate. Book II.
The Emperor was then indiſpoſed, but his Miniſters
complained much, that the *French* had broken with 1553.
them perfidiouſly, when they were making ſolemn Proteſtations, that they intended to obſerve the Peace religiouſly. The *Germans* propoſed a League between the Emperor, the King of the *Romans*, the King of *England*, and the Princes of the Empire. The Emperor moved that the *Netherlands* might be comprehended within the Perpetual League of the Empire; but the Princes refuſed that, ſince thoſe Provinces were like to be the perpetual Seat of War, when ever it ſhould break out between *France* and *Spain*; unleſs they might have reciprocal advantages, for expoſing themſelves to ſo much danger and charge. The *French* made extravagant Propoſitions, by which it appeared, that their King had a mind to carry on the War. They askt the reſtitution of *Milan*, *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Navarre*, and the Soveraignty of the *Netherlands*; and that *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, ſhould continue under the Protection of *France*. The *Engliſh* would not receive theſe as Mediators, but took them only as a Paper of News, and ſo ordered their Ambaſſadors to communicate them to the Emperor. But the King's Death broke off this Negotiation.

The King's Sickneſs.

He had contracted great Colds by violent Exerciſes, which in *January* ſetled in a deep Cough: And all Medicines proved ineffectual. There was a ſuſpicion taken up, and ſpread over all *Europe*, that he was poiſoned; but no certain grounds appeared, for juſtifying that. During his ſickneſs, *Ridley* preached before him, and among other things, run out much on Works of Charity, and the Duty of Men of high Condition, to be eminent in Good-works. The King was much touched with this; ſo, after Sermon he ſent for the Biſhop, and treated him with ſuch reſpect, that he made him ſit down, and be covered;

Book II. vered: Then he told him, what Impreſſion his Exhortation had made on him, and therefore he deſired
1553. to be directed by him, how to do his Duty in that matter. *Ridley* took a little time to conſider of it, and after ſome Conſultation with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, he brought the King a Scheme of ſeveral Foundations, one for the Sick and Wounded, another for ſuch as were wilfully idle, or were mad, and a third for Orphans: So he endowed St. *Bartholomew*'s Hoſpital for the firſt, *Bridewell* for the ſecond, and *Chriſt-Church* near *Newgate* for the third; and he enlarged the Grant he made the former Year, for St. *Thomas*'s Hoſpital in *Southwark*. The Statutes and Warrants relating to theſe, were not finiſhed before the 26*th* of *June*, though he gave order to make all the haſte that was poſſible: And when he ſet his Hand to them, he bleſt God that had prolonged his Life, till he finiſhed his deſigns concerning them. Theſe Houſes, have by the good Government, and great Charities of the City of *London*, continued to be ſo uſeful, and grown to be ſo well endowed, that now they may well be reckoned among the Nobleſt in *Europe*.

The Patents for the ſucceſſion to the Crown.

The King bore his Sickneſs with great ſubmiſſion to the Will of God; and ſeemed to be concerned in nothing ſo much, as the ſtate that Religion, and the Church would be in, after his death. The Duke of *Suffolk* had only three Daughters, the eldeſt of theſe was now married to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*; the ſecond to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s eldeſt Son; and the third, who was crooked, to one *Keys*. The Duke of *Northumberland*, for ſtrengthning his Family, married alſo his own two Daughters, the one to Sir *Henry Sydney*, and the other to the Earl of *Huntington*'s eldeſt Son. He grew to be much hated by the People, and the jealouſy of the King's being Poiſoned, was faſtened on him. But he regarded theſe things little, and reſolved to improve the fears the

King

King was in concerning Religion, to the advantage of Lady *Jane*. The King was eaſily perſwaded to order the Judges, and his Learned Council to put ſome Articles, which he had ſigned, for the Succeſſion of the Crown, in the common form of Law. They anſwered, That the Succeſſion being ſettled by Act of Parliament, could not be taken away, except by Parliament: Yet the King required them to do what he commanded them. But next time they came to the Council, they declared, that it was made Treaſon to change the Succeſſion by an Act paſt in this Reign, ſo they could not meddle with it. *Mountague* was chief Juſtice, and ſpake in the Name of the reſt. *Northumberland* fell in a great Paſſion againſt him, calling him *Traitor*, for refuſing to obey the King's Commands: For that is always the language of an arbitrary Miniſter, when he acts againſt Law. But the Judges were not ſhaken by his threatnings; ſo they were again brought before the King, who ſharply rebuked them for their delays: But they ſaid, all that they could do, would be of no force, without a Parliament; yet they were required to do it, in the beſt manner they could: At laſt *Mountague* deſired they might have a Pardon for what they were to do, and that being granted, all the Judges except, *Goſnald* and *Hales*, agreed to the Patent, and delivered their Opinion, That the Lord Chancellor might put the Seal to it, and that then it would be good in Law; yet the former of theſe two was at laſt wrought on; ſo *Hales* was the only Man that ſtood out to the laſt: Who, though he was a zealous Proteſtant, yet would not give his Opinion in this matter againſt his Conſcience, upon any Conſideration whatſoever. The Privy Councellours were next required to ſet their Hands to it: *Cecyl*, in a Relation he writ of this Tranſaction, ſays, That hearing ſome of the Judges declare ſo poſitively, that it was againſt Law, he refuſed to ſet his Hand to it, as a Privy

Book II. 1553.

Book II. 1553. Privy Councellour, but ſigned it only as a Witneſs to the King's Subſcription. *Cranmer* ſtood out long, he came not to Council when it paſt there, and refuſed to conſent to it, when he was preſt to it; for he ſaid, he would never have a hand in diſinheriting his late Maſter's Daughters. The young dying King was at laſt ſet on him, and by his importunity prevailed with him to do it, and ſo the Seal was put to the Patents. The King's Diſtemper continued to increaſe, ſo that the Phyſicians deſpaired of his Recovery. A confident Woman undertook his Cure, and he was put in her Hands, but ſhe left him worſe than ſhe found him; and this heightned the Jealouſy of the Duke of *Northumberland*, that had introduced her, and put the Phyſicians away. At laſt, to crown his Deſigns, he got the King to write to his Siſters, to come and divert him in his ſickneſs: And the matter of the Excluſion had been carried ſo ſecretly, that they apprehending no danger, had begun their Journey.

The King's Death and Character.

On the *6th* of *July*, the King felt Death approaching, and prepared himſelf for it, in a moſt devout manner: He was often heard offering up Prayers and Ejaculatious to God: Particularly a few Moments before he died, he prayed earneſtly that God would take him out of this wretched Life, and committed his Spirit to him; he interceeded very fervently for his Subjects, that God would preſerve *England* from Popery, and maintain his true Religion among them; ſoon after that, he breathed out his Innocent Soul, being in Sir *Henry Sidney*'s Arms. Endeavours were uſed to conceal his Death, for ſome Days, on deſign to draw his Siſters into the Snare, before they ſhould be aware of it, but that could not be done.

Thus died *Edward* VI. in the Sixteenth Year of his Age. He was counted the Wonder of that time: He was not only Learned in the Tongues, and the Liberal

Liberal Sciences, but knew well the ſtate of his Kingdom. He kept a Table-Book, in which he had writ the Characters of all the Eminent Men of the Nation; he ſtudied Fortification, and underſtood the Mint well: He knew the Harbours in all his Dominions, with the depth of Water, and way of coming into them. He underſtood Foreign Affairs ſo well, that the Ambaſſadours that were ſent into *England*, publiſhed very extraordinary things of him, in all the Courts of *Europe*. He had great quickneſs of Apprehenſion, but being diſtruſtful of his Memory, he took Notes of every thing he heard, that was conſiderable, in *Greek* Characters, that thoſe about him might not underſtand what he writ, which he afterwards Copied out fair in the Journal that he kept. Book II. 1553.

His Virtues were wonderful; when he was made believe, that his Uncle was guilty of conſpiring the death of the other Councellours, He upon that abandoned him. *Barnaby Fitz Patrick* was his Favourite, and when he ſent him to travel, he writ oft to him, to keep good Company, to avoid exceſs and Luxury, and to improve himſelf in thoſe things, that might render him capable of Imployment, at his return. He was afterwards made Lord of Upper-*Oſſory* in *Ireland*, by Queen *Elizabeth*, and did anſwer the hopes that this Excellent King had of him. He was very Merciful in his nature, which appeared in his unwillingneſs to ſign the Warrant for burning the Maid of *Kent*. He took great care to have his Debts well paid, reckoning that a Prince who breaks his Faith, and loſes his Credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himſelf liable to perpetual diſtruſt, and extreme contempt. He took ſpecial care of the Petitions, that were given him by poor and oppreſt People. But his great zeal for Religion crowned all the reſt. It was not an angry heat about it that acted him, but

Book II. but it was a true tenderneſs of Conſcience, founded on the love of God, and his Neighbours.

1553 Theſe extraordinary Qualities ſet off with great Sweetneſs and Affability, made him univerſally beloved by all his People. Some called him their *Joſias*, other *Edward the Saint*, and others called him the *Phœnix* that riſeth out of his Mother's Aſhes; and all People concluded, that the Sins of *England* muſt have been very great, ſince they provoked God to deprive the Nation of ſo ſignal a Bleſſing, as the reſt of his Reign would have, by all appearance, proved. *Ridley*, and the other good Men of that time, made great lamentations of the Vices, that were grown then ſo common, that Men had paſt all ſhame in them. Luxury, Oppreſſion, and a hatred of Religion had over-run the higher Rank of People, who gave a countenance to the Reformation, meerly to rob the Church; but by that, and their other practices, were become a great Scandal to ſo good a Work. The inferiour ſort were ſo much in the power of the Prieſts, who were ſtill, notwithſtanding their outward Compliance, Papiſts in heart, and were ſo much offended at the ſpoil they ſaw made of all good Endowments, without putting other and more uſeful ones in their room, that they who underſtood little of Religion, laboured under great Prejudices againſt every thing that was advanced by ſuch Tools. And theſe things, as they provoked God highly, ſo they diſpoſed the People much to that ſad Cataſtrophe, which is to be the Subject of the next Book.

BOOK III.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF Queen *MARY*.

BY King *Edward*'s Death, the Crown devolved, according to Law, on his Eldeſt Siſter *Mary*, who was within half a days Journey to the *Court*, when ſhe had notice given her by the Earl of *Arundel*, of her Brother's death, and of the Patent for Lady *Jane*'s Succeſſion, and this prevented her falling into the Trap, that was laid for her. Upon that ſhe retired to *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*, both to be near the Sea, that ſhe might eſcape to *Flanders*, in caſe of a misfortune; and becauſe the ſlaughter that was made of *Kets* People, by *Northumberland*, begat him the hatred of the People in that Neighbourhood. Before ſhe got thither, ſhe wrote on the *9th* of *July*, to the Council, and let them know ſhe underſtood, that her Brother was dead, by which ſhe ſucceeded to the Crown, but wondered that ſhe heard not from them; ſhe knew well what Conſultations they had engaged in, but ſhe would pardon all that was done, to ſuch as would return to their duty, and proclaim her Title to the Crown. By this it was found, that the King's death could be no longer kept ſecret;

Book III

1553. Queen *Mary* Succeeds.

Book III ſecret; ſo ſome of the Privy Council went to Lady *Jane*, and acknowledged her their *Queen*. The news of
1553. the King's death afflicted her much, and her being raiſed to the Throne, rather encreaſed than leſſen'd her trouble. She was a very extraordinary Perſon, both for Body and Mind. She had learned both the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, to great perfection; and delighted much in ſtudy. She read *Plato* in *Greek*, and drunk in the precepts of true Philoſophy ſo early, that as ſhe was not tainted with the levities, not to ſay Vices of thoſe of her Age and Condition, ſo ſhe ſeemed to have attained to the practice of the higheſt notions of Philoſophy: for in thoſe ſudden turns of her Condition, as ſhe was not exalted with the proſpect of a Crown, ſo ſhe was as little caſt down, when her Palace was made her Priſon. The only paſſion ſhe ſhewed, was, that of the Nobleſt kind, in the concern ſhe expreſt for her Father and Husband, who fell with her, and ſeemingly on her account, though really *Northumberland*'s ambition, and her Father's weakneſs ruined her. She rejected the offer of the Crown, when it was firſt made her; ſhe ſaid, ſhe knew, that of right it belonged to the late King's Siſter, and ſo ſhe could not with a good Conſcience aſſume it; but it was told her that both the Judges and Privy Counſellours had declared, that it fell to her according to Law. This joyned with the Importunities of her Husband, who had more of his Father's Temper, than of her Philoſophy in him, made her ſubmit to it. Upon this, XXI. Privy Councellours ſet their hands to a Letter to Queen *Mary*, letting her know that Queen *Jane* was now their Soveraign, and that the Marriage between her Father and Mother was null, ſo ſhe could not ſucceed to the Crown: and therefore they required her to lay down her Pretenſions, and to ſubmit to the ſettlement now made: and if ſhe gave a ready obedience to theſe Commands, they promiſed her much favour.

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The day after this they proclaimed *Jane*. In it they ſet forth, 'That the late King had by Patent 'excluded his Siſters, that both were illegitimated 'by ſentences paſt in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and 'confirmed in Parliament, and at beſt they were on-'ly his Siſters by the half blood, and ſo not inheri-'table by the Law of *England*. There was alſo 'cauſe to fear, that they might marry ſtrangers, and 'change the Laws, and ſubject the Nation to the Ty-'ranny of the See of *Rome*. Next to them the Crown 'fell to the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*; and it was provid-'ed, that if ſhe ſhould have no Sons, when the King 'died, the Crown ſhould devolve on her Daughter, 'who was born and married in the Kingdom: Up-'on which they aſſerted her right, and ſhe promiſed 'to maintain the true Religion, and the Laws of the 'Land. This was not received with the ſhouts or-dinary on ſuch occaſions. A *Vintner*'s Boy expreſ-ſed ſome ſcorn, when he heard it, for which he was next day ſet on a Pillory, and his Ears were nailed to it, to ſtrike terror in the reſt. Book II. 1553. But Lady *Jane Grey* is proclaimed.

Many deſcanted variouſly on this Proclamation. Thoſe who thought that the King had his Power immediately from God, ſaid, that then it muſt de-ſcend in the way of Inheritance; and ſince the King's two Siſters were both under ſentences of illegitima-tion, they ſaid the next Heir in blood muſt ſucceed, and that was the young Queen of *Scotland*; but ſhe being of the Church of *Rome*, claimed nothing up-on the ſentence againſt Queen *Mary*; eſteeming it unlawful, and null: yet afterwards ſhe made her claim againſt Queen *Elizabeth*. Others ſaid, that though a Prince were named immediately by God, yet upon great reaſons he might alter the Succeſſi-on from its natural courſe: for ſo *David* preferred *Solomon* to *Adonijah*. In *England*, the King's claim-ed the Crown by a long Preſcription, confirmed by many Laws, and not from a divine deſignation: Cenſures paſt upon that.

and

Book II. and therefore they inferred, that the Act of Parliament for the Succeſſion ought to take place, and
1553. that by vertue of it, the two Siſters ought to ſucceed: and it was ſaid, that as the King could limit the Prerogative, ſo he could likewiſe limit the ſucceſſion. It was alſo ſaid, that *Charles Brandon*'s Iſſue by the *French* Queen, was unlawful, becauſe he was then married to one *Mortimer*; yet this was not declared in any Court, and ſo could not take place. Others ſaid, if the right of blood could not be cut off, why was the *Scotch* Queen, cut off? And her being born out of the Kingdom, could not exclude her, as an *Alien*; for though that held in other caſes, yet it was only a Proviſion of Law, which could not take away a Divine right, and by ſpecial Law the King's Children were excepted. It was alſo urged, That the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* ought to be preferred to her Daughter, who could only claim by her Right: and though *Maud* the Empreſs, and *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond* had not claim'd the Crown, but were ſatisfied that their Sons, two *Henries*, the Second and Seventh, ſhould reign in their right, yet it was never heard that a Mother ſhould quit her right to a Daughter: that of the half Blood was ſaid to be only a rule in Law for private Families, and that it did not extend to the Crown. The power of limiting the ſucceſſion by Patent or Teſtament, was ſaid to be only a Perſonal truſt lodged in King *Henry* the Eighth, and that it did not deſcend to his Heirs; ſo that King *Edward*'s Patents were thought to be of no force.

Many turn to Queen *Mary*.

The ſeverity againſt the *Vintner*'s Boy in the beginning of a Reign founded on ſo doubtful a Title, was thought a great error in Policy: and it ſeemed to be a well grounded Maxime, that all Governments ought to begin with acts of Clemency, and affect the love rather than the fear of the People. *Northumberland*'s proceeding againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*,

Somerſet, upon ſo foul a Conſpiracy, and the ſuſpicions that lay on him, as the Author of the late King's untimely Death, begat a great averſion in the People to him: and that diſpoſed them to ſet up Queen *Mary*. She gathered all in the neighbouring Counties about her. The Men of *Suffolk* were generally for the Reformation, yet a great Body of them came to her, and asked her, if ſhe would promiſe not to alter the Religion ſet up in King *Edward*'s Days; ſhe aſſured them ſhe would make no Changes; but ſhould be content with the private Exerciſe of her own Religion. Upon that, they all vowed that they would live and dye with her. The Earl of *Suſſex*, and ſeveral others raiſed Forces for her, and proclaimed her Queen. When the Council heard this, they ſent the Earl of *Huntington*'s Brother to raiſe Men in *Buckinghamſhire*, and meet the Forces, that ſhould be ſent from *London*, at *Newmarket*. Book III 1553.

Northumberland marches againſt her.

The Duke of *Northumberland* was ordered to Command the Army. He was now much diſtracted in his thoughts. It was of equal importance to keep *London*, and the Privy Councellours ſteady, and to conduct the Army well: A misfortune in either of theſe was like to be fatal to him. So he could not reſolve what to do; there was not a Man of Spirit that was firm to him, to be left behind; and yet it was moſt neceſſary once to diſſipate the Force, that was daily growing about Queen *Mary*. The Lady *Jane* and the Council were removed to the *Tower*, not only for ſtate, but for ſecurity; for here the Council were upon the matter Priſoners. He could do no more, but lay a ſtrict charge on the Council, to be firm to Lady *Jane*'s Intereſts, and ſo he marched out of *London* with 2000 Horſe, and 6000 Foot, on the 14*th* of *July*: But no Acclamations or wiſhes of Succeſs were to be heard, as he paſt through the Streets. The Council gave the Emperor notice

Book III of the Lady *Jane*'s Succeſſion, and complained of the Diſturbance that was raiſed by Queen *Mary*,
1553. and that his Ambaſſador had officiouſly medled in their Affairs. But the Emperor would not receive their Letters. *Ridley* was appointed to preach up Queen *Jane*'s Title, and to animate the People againſt Queen *Mary*, which he too raſhly obeyed. But Queen *Mary*'s Party increaſed every Day. *Haſtings* went over to her with 4000 Men of *Buckinghamſhire*, and ſhe was proclaimed Queen in many places. And now did the Privy Council begin to ſee their danger, and to think how to get out of it. The Earl of *Arundel* hated *Northumberland*. The Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* was dextrous in ſhifting ſides for his advantage. The Earl of *Pembroke*'s Son had married the Lady *Jane*'s Siſter, which made him think it neceſſary to redeem the danger he was in, by a ſpeedy turn. To theſe many others were joined. They pretended it was neceſſary to give an Audience to the Foreign Ambaſſadours, who would not have it in the *Tower*. And the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Houſe was pitched upon, he being leaſt ſuſpected. They alſo ſaid it was neceſſary to treat with the Lord *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, for ſending more Forces to *Northumberland*, concerning which he had writ very earneſtly.

The Council declares for her.

When they got out, they reſolved to declare for Queen *Mary*; and rid themſelves of *Northumberland*'s uneaſy Yoke, which they knew they muſt bear, if he were victorious, They ſent for the Lord *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, and eaſily perſwaded them to concur with them, and ſo they went immediately to *Cheapſide*, and Proclaimed the Queen on the 19*th* of *July*: And from thence they went to St, *Paul*'s where *Te Deum* was ſung. They ſent next to the *Tower*, requiring the Duke of *Suffolk* to quit the Government of that place, and the Lady *Jane* to lay down the Title of *Queen*; ſhe ſubmitted with as much

grateneſs

greatneſs of Mind, os her Father ſhewed of abject- Book III
neſs. They ſent alſo Orders to *Northumberland* to
diſmiſs his Forces, and to obey the Queen: And 1553.
the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget* were ſent to carry theſe welcome Tidings to her. When *Northumberland* heard of the Turn that was in *London*, without ſtaying for Orders he diſcharged his Forces, and went to the Market-place at *Cambridge*, where he was at that time, and proclaimed the Queen. The Earl of *Arundel* was ſent to apprehend him, and when he was brought to him, he fell at his Feet to beg his favour: For a Mind, that has no ballance in it ſelf, turns inſolent or abject, out of meaſure, with the various changes of Fortune. He, and three of his Sons, and Sir *Tho. Palmer*, (that was his wicked Inſtrument againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*) were all ſent to the *Tower*. Now all People went to implore the Queen's Favour, and *Ridley* among the reſt, but he was ſent to the *Tower*; for ſhe both was offended with him for his Sermon, and reſolved to put *Bonner* again in the See of *London*. Some of the Judges, and ſeveral Noblemen were alſo ſent thither, among the reſt the Duke of *Suffolk*, but three Days after he was ſet at liberty. He was a weak Man, and could do little harm, ſo he was pitched on as the firſt Inſtance, towards whom the *Queen* ſhould expreſs her Clemency.

She came to *London* on the 3*d* of *Auguſt*, and on the way was met by her Siſter, Lady *Elizabeth*, with a Thouſand Horſe, whom ſhe had raiſed to come to the Queen's aſſiſtance. When ſhe came to the *Tower*, ſhe diſcharged the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, and *Gardiner*, of whoſe Commitment mention has been formerly made; as alſo the Lord *Courtney*, Son to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, who had been kept there ever ſince his Father's Attainder, whom ſhe made Earl of *Devonſhire*. And thus was ſhe now peaceably ſetled on the Throne; She comes to *London*.

Book III notwitſtanding that great Combination againſt her, which had not been ſo eaſily broken, if the Head of it had not been a Man ſo univerſally diſtaſtful.

1553.

Her former Life.

She was a Lady of great Vertues; ſhe was ſtrict in her Religion, to Superſtition; her Temper was much corrupted by Melancholly; and the many croſs Accidents of her Life increaſed this to a great degree. She adhered ſo reſolutly to her Mother's Intereſts, that it was believed her Father once intended to have taken her Life; upon which her Mother wrote a very devout Letter to her, charging her to truſt in God, and keep her ſelf pure, and to obey the King in all things, except in matters of Religion: She ſent her two *Latin* Books for her entertainment, St. *Jerome*'s Epiſtles, and a Book of the Life of *Chriſt*, which was perhaps the famous Book of *Thomas à Kempis*. The King's diſpleaſure at her was ſuch, that neither the Duke of *Norfolk*, nor *Gardiner*, durſt venture to intercede for her. *Cranmer* was the only Man that hazarded on it, and did it ſo effectually, that he prevailed with him about it. But after her Mother's Death, ſhe hearkned to other Counſels, ſo that upon *Anne Bolleyn*'s Fall, ſhe made a full ſubmiſſion to him, as was mentioned before. She did alſo in many Letters, which ſhe writ both to her Father, and to *Cromwell*, 'Proteſt 'great ſorrow for her former ſtubbornneſs, and de-'clared that ſhe put her Soul in his Hand, and that 'her Conſcience ſhould be always directed by him; 'and being asked what her Opinion was concerning 'Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Reliques; ſhe an-'ſwered, that ſhe had no Opinion, but ſuch as ſhe 'received from the King, who had her whole Heart 'in his keeping; and might imprint upon it, in theſe, 'and in all other matters, whatever his ineſtimable 'Virtue, high Wiſdom, and excellent Learning 'ſhould think convenient for her. So perfectly had

ſhe

she learned the stile, that she knew was most acceptable to her Father. After that, she was in all Points obedient to him, and during her Brother's Reign, she set up on that pretence, that she would adhere to that way of Religion, that was setled by her Father. Book III 1553.

Two different Schemes were now set before her; *Gardiner*, and all that had complied in the former times, moved, that at first she should bring things back to the state in which they were, when her Father died: And afterwards by easy and slow steps she might again return to the Obedience to the See of *Rome*. But she her self was more inclined to return to that immediately; she thought she could not be legitimated any other way, and so was like to proceed too quick. *Gardiner* finding that Political Maxims made no great Impression on her, and that he was lookt on by her as a crafty temporizing Man, addressed himself to the Emperor, who understood Government and Mankind better: And undertook, that if he might have the Seals, he would manage matters so, that in a little time he should bring all things about to her mind; and that there was no danger, but in her precipitating things, and being so much governed by *Italian* Counsels: For he understood that she had sent for Cardinal *Pool*. The People had a great Aversion to the Papal Authority, and the Nobility and Gentry were apprehensive of losing the *Abbey* Lands; therefore it was necessary to remove these Prejudices by degrees. He also assured the Emperor, that he would serve all his Interests zealously, and shewed him how necessary it was to stop Cardinal *Pool*, who stood Attainted by Law. In this he was the more earnest, because he knew *Pool* hated him. The Emperor upon this, writ so effectually to the Queen, to depend on *Gardiner*'s Counsels, that on the 13*th* of *August*, he was made Lord Chancellour, and the conduct of Affairs was The Counsels then laid down.

Book III put in his Hands. The Duke of *Norfolk* being now at liberty, pretended that he was never truly Attainted; and that it was no legal Act, that had paſt againſt him, and by this he recovered his Eſtate; all the Grants that had been made out of it, being declared void at Common Law.

1553.

Northumberland's Tryal.

He was made Lord Steward for the Trial of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and his Son the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Marqueſs of *Northampton*. All that they pleaded in their own Defence, lay in two Points; the one was, whether any thing that was acted by Order of Council, and the Authority of the Great Seal, could be Treaſon? The other was, whether thoſe that were as guilty as they were, could ſit and judge them? The Judges anſwered, That the Great Seal, or Privy Council of one, that was not Lawful Queen, could give no Authority, nor Indemnity: And that other Peers, if they were not convicted by Record, might Judge them. Theſe Points being determined againſt them, they pleaded *Guilty*, and ſubmitted to the Queen's Mercy: So Sentence paſt upon them: And the Day after that, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and ſome others, were tried and condemned: But of all theſe, it was reſolved, that only *Northumberland*, *Gates* and *Palmer* ſhould ſuffer.

And Execution.

Heath was appointed to attend on *Northumberland*, and to prepare him for Death. He then profeſſed he had been always of the old Religion in his Heart, and had complied againſt his Conſcience in the former times; but whether that was true, or whether it was done in hopes of Life, as it cannot be certainly known, ſo it ſhews, he had little regard to Religion, either in his Life, or at his Death. But he was a Man of ſuch a Temper, that it was reſolved to put him out of a Capacity of revenging himſelf on his Enemies. On the 22*d* of *Auguſt*, he and the other two were beheaded. There paſt ſome

Expoſtula-

Expoſtulation between *Gates* and him, each of them accuſing the other as the Author of their ruin. But they were ſeemingly reconciled, and profeſſed they forgave one another. He made a long Speech, confeſſing his former ill Life, and the Juſtice of the Sentence againſt him, 'He exhorted the People to ſtand 'to the Religion of their Anceſtors, to reject all No-'velties, and to drive the Preachers of them out of 'the Nation, and declared he had temporized a-'gainſt his Conſcience, and that he was always of the 'Religion of his Fore-fathers. He was an extraordinary Man, till he was raiſed very high; but that tranſported him out of meaſure. And he was ſo ſtrangely changed in the laſt paſſages of his Life, that it increaſed the Jealouſies that were raiſed of his having haſtned King *Edward*'s Death: And that the horrours of that Guilt did ſo haunt him, that both the Judgment and Courage he had expreſſed in the former parts of his Life, ſeemed now to have left him. *Palmer* was little pitied, for he was believed the betrayer of his former Maſter, the Duke of *Somerſet*, and was upon that ſervice taken into *Northumberland*'s Confidence. Book III 1553.

There was no ſtrict enquiry made into King *Edward*'s Death: All the honour done his Memory, was, that they allowed him Funeral Rites. On the 8th of *Auguſt*, he was buried at *Weſtminſter*, and the Queen had an Exequie, and Maſſes for him at the *Tower*. *Day* was appointed to preach the Sermon: In it he praiſed the King, but inveighed ſeverely againſt the Adminiſtration of Affairs under him. It had been reſolved to bury him according to the old Forms, but *Cranmer* oppoſed that, and prevailed that he ſhould be buried according to the Form then ſetled by Law: And he himſelf did Officiate, and ended the Solemnity with a Communion, all which, it may be ſuppoſed, he did with a very lively Sorrow, having both loved the King be- King *Edward*'s Funeral.

Book III

yond expreſſion, and looked on his Funeral, as the Burial of the Reformation, and as a ſtep to his own.

1553. A Tumult at St. *Paul's*.

On the 22*d* of *Auguſt*, the Queen declared in Council, 'That though ſhe was fixed in her own 'Religion, yet ſhe would not compel others to it: 'But would leave that to the motions of God's Spi-'rit, and the labours of good Preachers. The Day after that, *Bonner* went to St. *Paul*'s; and *Bourn*, that was his Chaplain preached; he extolled *Bonner* much, and inveighed againſt the Sufferings he was put to. Upon this a Tumult was raiſed, for the People could not hear Reflections made on King *Edward*: Some flung ſtones at him, and one threw a Dagger at the Pulpit, with ſuch force, that it ſtuck faſt in the Wood. *Rogers* and *Bradford* were preſent, who were in great eſteem with the People: So they ſtood up and quieted them, and conveyed *Bourn* ſafe home. This was a very welcome Accident to the Papiſts, and gave them a colour to prohibit Preaching, by a Publick Inhibition in the Queen's Name: In which ſhe declared, 'That her Religion 'was the ſame that it had been from her Infancy, 'but that ſhe would compel none of her Subjects in 'matters of Religion, till publick Order ſhould be 'taken in it by common Aſſent. She required her 'People ro live quietly, not to uſe the terms of *Pa-'piſt*, or *Heretick*, or other reproachful Speeches, 'and that none ſhould Preach without Licence: She 'alſo charged them not to puniſh any on the ac-'count of the late Rebellion, but as they ſhould be 'authorized by her. She would be ſorry to be dri-'ven to execute the ſeverity of the Law; but was 'reſolved not to ſuffer Rebellious doings to go un-'puniſhed. This gave great occaſion to Cenſure, and was thought a Declaration, not for her Father's Religion, but for Popery: Since it was that which ſhe profeſſed from her Infancy. It was alſo obſerved, that ſhe limited her Promiſe of not compelling o-

thers,

thers, till publick Orders ſhould be taken in it: The meaning of which was, till a Parliament could be brought to concur with her. The reſtraint upon Preaching, without Licence, was juſtified from what had been done in King *Edward*'s time; though then, at firſt, all might Preach in their own Churches without it; it was only neceſſary, if they Preached any where elſe: Biſhops had alſo the power of Licenſing in their Dioceſſes: And the total reſtraint that followed afterwards, laſted but a ſhort while. But now all the Pulpits were put under an Interdict, till the Preachers ſhould obtain a Licence from *Gardiner*: And that he reſolved to grant to none, but thoſe that would Preach as he ſhould direct them. The Queen's threatning to proceed againſt ſuch as were guilty of the late Rebellion, ſtruck a general terror in the City of *London*; for the greateſt part had been in ſome meaſure concerned in it. Book III 1553.

In *Suffolk* the People thought their Services, and the Queen's Promiſes gave them a Title to own their Religion more avowedly: But Orders were ſent to the Biſhop of *Norwich* to execute the Queen's Injunctions, and to ſee that none ſhould Preach that had not obtained a Licence. Upon this, ſome of thoſe that had merited moſt, came and put the Queen in mind of her Promiſe: But ſhe ſent them home with a cold Anſwer; and told them, They muſt learn to obey her, and not pretend to govern her: And one that had ſpoken more confidently than the reſt, was ſet in the Pillory for it three Days, as having ſaid words that tended to defame the Queen. This was a ſad Omen of a ſevere Government, in which the claiming of Promiſes went for a Crime. *Bradford* and *Rogers* were alſo ſeized on; and it was pretended, that the Authority they ſhewed in quieting the Tumult, was a ſign that they had raiſed it. *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonſtall*, *Heath* and *Day*, were reſtored

Severe proceedings againſt the Men of *Suffolk* and others.

Book III restored to their Bishopricks; they had all appealed to the King before Sentence had past against them; so Commissions were given to some Civilians to examine the grounds of these Appeals, and they made report that they were good, and so that the Sentences against them were null. *Gardiner* had Authority given him to grant Priests Licences to preach in any Church, as he should appoint: By this the Reformed were not only silenced, but their Churches and Pulpits were cast open to such as *Gardiner* pleased to send among them. They differed in their Opinions how far they were bound to obey this Prohibition: Some thought they might forbear publick Preaching, when they were so required: But they made that up by private Conferences and Instructions: Others thought that if this had been only a particular hardship upon a few, the regard to Peace and Order should have obliged them to submit to it; but since it was general, and done on design to extinguish the light of the Gospel, that they ought to go on, and Preach at their peril; of this last sort several were put in Prison for their disobedience, and among others, *Hooper* and *Coverdale*.

1553.

The People that loved the old Superstition, began now to set up Images, and the old Rites again in many places: And though this was plainly against Law, yet the Government encouraged it all they could. Judge *Hales* thought his refusing to concur with the rest in excluding the Queen, gave him a more than ordinary priviledge. So when he went the Circuit, he gave the charge in *Kent*, requiring the Justices to see to the execution of King *Edward*'s Laws, that continued still in force. But upon his return he was committed for this, and removed from Prison to Prison; which, with the threatnings that were made him, terrified him so much, that he cut his Throat, but not mortally: As he recovered, he made his submission and obtained

Particularly against Judge *Hales*.

ed his liberty. Yet the diſorder he was in, never left him till he drowned himſelf. This ſhewed that former merit was not ſo much conſidered as a readineſs to comply in matters of Religion; Judge *Bromley*, though he made no difficulty in declaring his Opinion for the Queen's excluſion, yet ſince he profeſt himſelf a Papiſt, was made Lord Chief Juſtice: And *Montague*, who had proceeded in it with great averſion, yet becauſe he was for the Reformation, was put in Priſon, and ſeverely Fined; though he had this merit to pretend, that he had ſent his Son and twenty Men with him, to declare for the Queen; and had this alſo to recommend him to pity, that he had ſix Sons and ten Daughters. *Peter Martyr* was forced to retire from *Oxford*: He came to *Lambeth*, but was not like to find long ſhelter there. Book III 1553.

Cranmer kept himſelf quiet for ſome time, which gave the other party occaſion to publiſh that he was reſolved to turn with the Tyde. *Bonner* writ upon that to a Friend of his, that Mr. *Canterbury* (ſo he called him in deriſion) was become very humble; but that would not ſerve his turn, for he would be ſent to the *Tower* within a very little while. Some adviſed him to fly beyond Sea; he anſwered, That though he could not diſſwade others to fly from the Perſecution they ſaw coming on, yet that was unbecoming a Man in his ſtation, that had ſuch a hand in the Changes formerly made. He prepared a Writing, which he intended to have publiſhed: The ſubſtance of it was, 'That he found the Devil was 'more than ordinary buſy in defaming the Servants 'of God; and that whereas the Corruptions in the 'Maſs had been caſt out, and that the Lord's Supper 'was again ſet up, according to its firſt Inſtitution; 'the Devil now, to promote the Maſs, which 'was his Invention, ſet his Inſtruments on work, 'who gave it out, that it was now ſaid in *Canterbu-* 'ry by his order: Therefore he proteſted that was falſe, *Cranmer's* impriſonment.

Book III 1553.

'falſe, and that a diſſembling Monk (this was 'Thornton Biſhop Suffragan of *Dover*) had done it 'without his knowledge. He alſo offered that he 'and *Peter Martyr*, with ſuch other four or five as he 'ſhould name, would be ready to prove the errors 'of the Maſs, and to defend the whole Doctrine 'and Service ſet forth by the late King, as moſt con-'form to the Word of God, and to the practice of 'the Ancient Church for many Ages. Before he had finiſhed this, *Scory*, that had been Biſhop of *Chiche-ſter*, coming to him, he ſhewed it him, and deſired his Opinion in it. He being a hot Man, liked it ſo well, that he gave Copies of it: And one of theſe was read publickly in *Cheapſide*. So three Days after that he was cited to the *Star-Chamber* to anſwer for it: He confeſſed it was his, and that he had intend-ed to have enlarged it in ſome things, and to have affixed it with his Hand and Seal to it, at St. *Paul*'s, and many other Churches. He was at this time diſ-miſt: *Gardiner* ſaw the Queen intended to put Car-dinal *Pool* in his room, and that made him endea-vour to preſerve him. Some moved that a ſmall Penſion might be aſſigned him, and that he ſhould be ſuffered to live private: For the ſweetneſs of his Temper had procured him ſo Univerſal a love from all People, that it was thought too hardy a ſtep to proceed to extremities with him. Others ſaid, he had been the chief Author of all the Hereſy that was in the Nation, and that it was not decent for the Queen to ſhew any favour to him, that had pronounced the Sentence of her Mother's Divorce. Within a Week after this, both *Latimer* and *He*, and ſeveral other Preachers were put in Priſon.

The Strangers driven out of *England*.

Peter Martyr, that had come over upon the pub-lick faith, had leave given him to go beyond Sea: ſo had alſo *à Laſco*, and the *Germans*; and about two hundred of them went away in *December*: but both in *Denmark*, where they firſt landed, and in *Lubeck*, *Wiſmar*

Wiſmar, and *Hamburgh*, to which they removed, they were denied admittance, becauſe they were of the *Helvetian* Confeſſion; and in all theſe places the fierce *Lutherans* prevailed; who did ſo far put off all bowels, that they would not ſo much as ſuffer theſe Refugees to ſtay among them, till the rigours of the Winter were over: but at laſt they found ſhelter in *Friſeland*. Many of the *Engliſh* foreſeeing the Storm, reſolved to withdraw in time: ſo the Strangers being required to be gone, they went under that Cover in great numbers. But the Council underſtanding that about a thouſand had ſo conveyed themſelves away, gave order that none ſhould be ſuffered to go as Strangers, but thoſe that had a Certificate from the Ambaſſador of the Princes, to whom they belonged. With thoſe that fled beyond Sea, diverſe eminent Preachers went: among whom were *Cox*, *Sandys*, *Grindall*, and *Horn*, all afterwards highly advanced by Queen *Elizabeth*. Book III 1553.

Theſe things began to alienate the People from the Government, therefore on the other hand great care was taken to ſweeten them. The Queen beſtowed the chief Offices of the Houſhold on thoſe that had aſſiſted her in her extremity; there being no way more effectual to engage all to adhere to the Crown, than the grateful acknowledgment of paſt ſervices. An unuſual honour was done to *Ratcliffe* Earl of *Suſſex*, he had a Licenſe granted him under the Great Seal, to cover his Head in her Preſence. On the 10*th* of *October* the Queen was Crowned, *Gardiner* with ten other Biſhops performing that Ceremony, with the ordinary ſolemnity. *Day* being eſteemed the beſt Preacher among them, preached the Sermon. There was a General Pardon proclaimed, and with that, 'the Queen diſcharged the Sub-'jects of the two Tenths, two Fifteenths, and a Sub-'ſidy that had been granted by the laſt Parliament: 'and ſhe alſo declared that ſhe would pay both her Father's

Popular arts uſed by *Gardiner*.

Book III 1553.

'Father's Debts and her Brother's; and though her 'Treasure was much exhausted, yet she esteeming 'the love of her People her best Treasure, forgave 'those Taxes, in lieu of which she desired only the 'hearts of her Subjects, and that they would serve 'God sincerely, and pray earnestly for her.

A Parliament meets, and repeals several Laws.

On the 20th of *October*, a Parliament met. There had been great violences used in many Elections, and many false Returns were made: some that were known to be zealous for the Reformation, were forcibly turned out of the House of Commons; which was afterwards offered as a ground upon which that Parliament, and all Acts made in it, might have been annulled: There came only Two of the Reformed Bishops to the House of Lords: The Two Archbishops, and three Bishops were in Prison: Two others were turned out, the rest stayed at home; so only *Taylor* and *Harley*, the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford* came. When Mass began to be said, they went out, as some report it, but were never suffered to come to their places again: others say, they refused to joyn in that Worship, and so were violently thrust out. In the House of Commons, some of the more forward moved, That King *Edward*'s Laws might be reviewed, but things were not ripe enough for that. *Nowel* a Prebendary of *Westminster*, was returned Burgess for a Town; but the House voted, That the Clergy being represented in the lower House of Convocation, could not be admitted to sit among the Laity. The Commons sent up a Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, which the Lords sent down amended in two Proviso's, and the Commons did not then insist on their Priviledge, that the Lords could not alter a Bill of Money. The only Publick Bill that was finished this Sessions, was a Repeal of all late Statutes, making any Crime, Treason, that was not so by the 25 of *Edward* III. or Felony, that was not so before King *Henry* VIII: except-

excepting from the benefit of this Act, all that were put in Priſon before the end of *September* laſt, who were alſo excepted out of the General Pardon. The Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire* her Son, were reſtored in blood by two private Acts: and then the Parliament was prorogued for three days, that it might be ſaid, the firſt Seſſion under the Queen, was meerly for Acts of Mercy. Book III 1553.

The Qu's Mother's marriage confirm'd.

At their next Meeting, after the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was paſt, a Bill paſt through both Houſes in Four days, repealing the Divorce of the Queen's Mother: 'In which they declared 'the Marriage to have been lawful; and that mali-'cious Perſons had poſſeſſed the King with ſcruples 'concerning it; and had by Corruption procured the 'Seals of Foreign Univerſities condemning it, and 'had by threatnings and ſiniſtrous Arts obtained the 'like in *England:* Upon which *Cranmer* had pro-'nounced the Sentence of Divorce, which had been 'confirmed in Parliament: They therefore looking 'on the miſeries that had fallen on the Nation, ſince 'that time as judgments from God for that Sentence, 'condemn it, and repeal the Acts confirming it. *Gardiner*, in this, performed his promiſe to the Queen, of getting her to be declared Legitimate, without taking notice of the *Pope*'s authority: but he ſhewed that he was paſt ſhame, when he procured ſuch a Repeal of a Sentence, which he had ſo ſervilely promoted: and he particularly knew the falſhood of this pretence, that the foreign Univerſities were corrupted. He had alſo ſet it on long before *Cranmer* engaged in it, and ſat in Court with him, when it was pronounced. By this Act the Lady *Elizabeth* was upon the matter again illegitimated, ſince the ground upon which her Mother's Marriage ſubſiſted, was the Divorce of the firſt Marriage: and it was either upon this pretence, or on old ſcores, that the Queen, who had hitherto treated her as a Siſter,

Book III Sister, began now to use her more severely. Others
suggest that a secret rivalry was the true spring of it.
1553. It was thought the Earl of *Devonshire* was much in the Queen's favour; but he either not presuming so high, or liking Lady *Elizabeth* better, who was both more beautiful, and was XIX. years younger than the Queen, made his addresses to her, which provoked the Queen so much, that it drew a great deal of trouble on them both.

King *Edward*'s Laws about Religion repealed.

The next Bill was a repeal of all the Laws, made in King *Edward*'s reign, concerning Religion: it was argued six days in the House of Commons, and carried without a Division: by this, Religion was again put back into the state, in which King *Henry* had left it: and this was to take place after the 20*th* of *December* next, but till then it was left free to all, either to use the old, or the new Service, as they pleased. Another Act past against all, that should disquiet any Preacher for his Sermons, or interrupt Divine Offices, either such as had been in the last year of King *Henry*, or such as the Queen should set out: by which she was impowered to restore the service in all things, as it had been, before her Father made the breach with *Rome*: Offenders were either to be punished by Ecclesiastical Censures, or by an Imprisonment for three Months. And the House of Commons was now so forward, that they sent up a Bill, for the Punishing of all such as would not come to Church or Sacraments, after the Old Service should be again set up: yet the Lords fearing this might alarm the Nation too much, let it fall. Another Law was made, That if any, to the number of Twelve, should meet to alter any thing in Religion, or for any Riot, or should by any publick notice, such as Bells or Beacons, gather the People together, and upon Proclamation made, should not disperse themselves: they, and all that assisted them, were declared guilty of Felony: and if any more than two,

met

met for these ends, they should lye a Year in Prison; and all People were required, under severe Penalties, to assist the Justices, for repressing such Assemblies. So the favour of the former Act of Repeal, appeared to be a mockery, when so soon after it, so severe a Law was made: by which disorders, that might arise upon sudden heats, were to be declared Felonies. The Marques of *Northampton*'s second Marriage was also annulled, but no Declaration was made against Divorces in general, grounded on the Indissolubleness of the Marriage-bond, only that particular Sentence was condemned, as pronounced upon false surmises. Book III 1553.

The Duke of *Norfolk*'s Attainder repealed.

An Act also passed, annulling the Attainder of the Duke *Norfolk*: those who had purchased some parts of his Estate from the Crown, opposed it much in the House of Commons: but the Duke came down to the House, and desired them earnestly to pass it, and assured them, that he would refer all differences between him and the Patentees, either to Arbiters, or to the Queen: and so it was agreed to. 'It set 'forth the pretences that were made use of to At-'taint him; as that he used Coats of Arms, which 'he and his Ancestors had lawfully used. There 'was a Commission given to some, to declare the 'Royal Assent to it; but that was not signed, but on-'ly stamped by the King's mark: and that not at the 'upper end, as was usual, but beneath; nor did it 'appear, that the Royal Assent was ever given to it, 'and they declared, that in all time coming, the 'Royal Assent should be given, either by the King in 'Person, or by a Commission under the Great Seal; 'signed by the King's Hand, and publickly declared 'to both Houses. *Cranmer*, *Guilford Dudly*, and his Wife the Lady *Jane*, and two of his Brothers, were tryed for Treason; they all confessed their Indictments: only *Cranmer* appealed to the Judges, who knew how unwillingly he had consented to the Ex-

Book III

1553.

cluſion of the Queen, and that he did it not, till they, whoſe Profeſſion it was to know the Law, had ſigned it. They were all Attainted of Treaſon for levying War againſt the Queen, and their Attainders were confirmed in Parliament; ſo was *Cranmer* legally diveſted of his Archbiſhoprick; but ſince he was put in it by the *Pope*'s Authority, it was reſolved to degrade him by the forms of the Cannon-Law; and the Queen was willing to pardon his Treaſon; but that it might appear ſhe did not act upon revenge, but Zeal: ſhe was often prevailed with, to pardon Injuries againſt her ſelf, but was always inexorable in matters of Religion.

A Treaty for reconciling *England* to the *Pope*.

But now her Treaty with the Pope began to take vent, which put the Parliament in ſome diſorder. When ſhe came firſt to the Crown, the Pope's Legate at *Bruſſels* ſent over *Commendone*, to ſee if he could ſpeak with her, and to perſwade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apoſtolick See. The management of the matter was left to his diſcretion, for the Legate would not truſt this ſecret to *Gardiner*, nor any of the other Biſhops. *Commendone* came over in the diſguiſe of a Merchant, and by accident met with one of the Queen's Servants, who had lived ſome years beyond Sea, and was known to him, and by his means he procured acceſs to the Queen. She aſſured him of her firm reſolution to return to the Obedience of that See, but charged him to manage the matter with great prudence; for if it were too early diſcovered, it might diſturb her Affairs, and obſtruct the deſign: By him ſhe wrote both to the Pope, and to Cardinal *Pool*; and inſtructed *Commendone*, in order to the ſending over *Pool* with a Legatine power: She alſo asked him, whether the Pope might not diſpence with *Pool* to marry, ſince he was only in Deacons Orders? This was a welcome Meſſage to the Court of *Rome*, and proved the foundation of *Commendone*'s advancement.

There

There was a publick rejoycing for three Days, and the Pope ſaid Maſs himſelf upon it; and gave a largeſs of Indulgences, in which he might be the more liberal, becauſe they were like to come into credit again, and to go off at the old rates. Yet all that *Commendone* ſaid in the Conſiſtory, was, That he underſtood from good hands, that the Queen was well diſpoſed to a Re-union. Some of the ſtiffer Cardinals thought it was below the Pope's dignity to ſend a Legate, till an Ambaſſy ſhould come firſt from the Queen, deſiring it: Yet the ſecret was ſo whiſpered among them, that it was generally known. It was ſaid, they ought to imitate the Shepherd in the Parable, who went to ſeek the ſtray Sheep: And therefore *Pool* was appointed to go Legate, with ample Powers. *Gardiner* was in fear of him, and ſo adviſed the Emperor to ſtop him in his journey; and to touch the Emperor in a tender part, it is ſaid, that he let him know that the Queen had ſome Inclinations for the Cardinal. The Emperor had now propoſed a Match with her for his Son, though he was nine years younger than ſhe was; yet ſhe being but thirty ſeven, there was reaſon enough to hope for Children; and the uniting *England* to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſeemed to be all that was wanting to ſtrengthen it on all hands, ſo as to ruin the *French* Kingdom. The Queen ſaw reaſons enough to determine her to entertain it: She found it would be hard to bring the Nation about in matters of Religion, without the aſſiſtance of a Foreign Power: Yet it is more reaſonable to think that *Gardiner*, who was always governed by his Intereſts, would have rather promoted the match with *Pool*, for then he had been infallibly made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and had got *Pool*'s Hat; and the Government would have been much eaſier, if the Queen had married a Subject, than it could be under

Book III. 1553.

And for a Match with the Prince of *Spain*.

der a Stranger, especially one whose greatness made all people very apprehensive of him.

1553. *Pool's Advices to the Queen.*

The restoring the Papal Power, and the Match with the Prince of *Spain*, were things of such uneasy digestion, that it was not fit to adventure on both at once; therefore the Emperor prest the Queen to begin with her Marriage, and by that she would be powerfully assisted to carry on her other Designs; and at last the Queen her self was perswaded to send to *Pool*, to advise him to stop his Journey for some time. She sent over the Acts of this Parliament, to let him see what progress she was making, and to assure him she would make all convenient haste in the Re-union: but the Parliament had expressed so great an aversion to the restoring the Pope's Power, and were so apprehensive of losing the Abbey-lands, that it would prejudice her Affairs much, if he should come over before the Peoples Minds were better prepared. She also desired him to send her a List of those that were fit to be made Bishops in the room of those that were turned out. To this he writ a long and tedious Answer; he rejoyced at the Acts that were passed, but observed great defects in them: In that concerning her Mother's Marriage, there was no mention made of the Pope's Bull of Dispensation, by which only it could be a Lawful Marriage. The other for setting up the Worship, as it was in the end of her Father's Reign, he censured more; for they were then in a state of Schism, and so this established Schism by a Law: And he said, that while the Interdict lay on the Nation, it was a Sin to perform Divine Offices. He had been very frankly dispatched by the Pope and the Consistory, with many favourable Instructions; but if these were so despised, and he still stopt, it might provoke him to recal his Power. He knew all this flowed from the Emperor, who would perhaps advise her to follow such Political Maxims

as

as himſelf was governed by, but his ill ſucceſs in the buſineſs of the *Interim*, might well frighten others from following ſuch Counſels: And he was afraid that Carnal Policy might govern her too much, and that ſo ſhe would fall from her ſimplicity in Chriſt. He deſired her to take Courage, and to depend on God; and adviſed her to go her ſelf to the Parliament, having before-hand prepared ſome to ſecond her, and to tell them that ſhe was touched in Conſcience with a ſenſe of the ſin of Schiſm, and that therefore ſhe deſired the Act of Attainder that ſtood againſt him might be repealed; and that he might be invited to come over, and reconcile them to the Apoſtolick See: And ſhe might aſſure them that all neceſſary caution ſhould be uſed to prevent the Nation's being brought under a thraledom to the Papacy. But the Queen was now poſſeſt with *Gardiner*'s Counſels, and look'd on *Pool*'s Advices as more candid than prudent. *Gardiner* perſwaded her, that though he was a good and learned Man, yet he underſtood not the preſent Genius of the Nation; and *Pool* lookt on *Gardiner* as a Man of no Conſcience, and that he was more converſant in Intrigues of State, than touched with any ſenſe of Religion: But the Emperor was convinced that *Gardiner*'s Methods were ſurer, and preferred them to *Pool*'s. Book III 1553.

When the Treaty of the Queen's Marriage came to be known, the Houſe of Commons were much alarmed at it; and they ſent their Speaker with twenty of their Members, with an Addreſs to her, not to marry a Stranger: And they were ſo inflamed, that the Court judged it neceſſary to diſſolve the Parliament. *Gardiner* upon this, let the Emperor know that the jealouſies which were taken up on the account of the Match were ſuch, that except very extraordinary conditions were offered, it would occaſion a general Rebellion. He alſo writ to him that great Sums muſt be ſent over both to gratify the

The Parliament oppoſes the match, and is diſſolved.

Book III 1553. Nobility, and to enable them to carry the Elections to the next Parliament, in oppoſition to ſuch as would ſtand againſt them. As for Conditions, it was reſolved to grant any that ſhould be demanded; for the Emperor reckoned that if his Son were once married to her, it would be eaſy for him ro govern the Councils as he pleaſed: And for Money there was *Four hundred thouſand Pounds* ordered to be divided up and down the Nation, at the diſcretion of *Gardiner*; and the Emperor's Ambaſſadors: A great part of it was payed in hand, and the reſt was brought over with the Prince. This the Emperor borrowed from ſome of the Free Towns of *Germany*; and when they were preſſing him for the repayment of it about a Year after, he for his excuſe told them the charge he had been at for his Son's Marriage, but that he hoped to be re-imburſed from *England*; which was thus bought and ſold by a practiſing Biſhop, and a corrupted Houſe of Commons, *Gardiner* did alſo make uſe of his Power, as Chancellour, to force all People to comply with him; for there was no Favour nor common Juſtice ſhewed in his Court of Chancery to any others.

A Convocation meets, and diſputes about the Sacrament.

With the Parliament a Convocation met, *Harpſfield* Preached to them, he flattered the Queen and the Biſhops that had been deprived in the late times, with a zeal that ſhewed how fervently he aſpired to Preferment: He inveighed againſt the late times with great ſharpneſs; ſo that his Sermon was divided between Satyr and Panegyrick. Six of the Reformed Divines were qualified by their Dignities to ſit in the Lower Houſe, being either Deans or Arch-Deacons, who were *Philpot*, *Philips*, *Haddon*, *Cheyney*, *Ailmer* and *Young*. They made a vigorous oppoſition to a Motion that was propoſed for condemning the Catechiſm and Common-Prayer-Book that had been ſet out in King *Edward*'s time, and particularly the Articles againſt Tranſubſtantiation: To this all agreed

greed except those six. It was pretended, that the Catechism was not set out by Authority of Convocation: To which *Philpot* answered, That the Convocation had deputed some to Compose it, and so it was on the matter their Work. A Disputation was proposed concerning the Sacrament, though all the rest of the Convocation subscribed the Conclusion first; which was complained of as a preposterous Method. The six desired that *Ridley* and *Rogers*, with some others, might be suffered to come and joyn with them; but that was refused, since they were no Members, and were then in Prison. Book II. 1553.

On the twenty third of *October* the Dispute began, many of the Nobility, and others being present; *Weston* was Prolocutor, he opened it with a Protestation, that they went not to Dispute, as calling the Truth in question, but only to satisfy the Objections of a few. *Haddon*, *Ailmer* and *Young*, foresaw that it was resolved to run them down with numbers and noise, so at first they refused to Dispute, and the last of them went away. *Cheyney* argued from St. *Paul*'s calling the Sacrament *Bread*, *Origen*'s saying that *it nourished the Body*, and *Theodoret*'s saying, that *the Elements did not depart from their former substance, form, and shape*. *Moreman* answered, that *Theodoret*'s words were to be understood of an accidental substance: It was replied, that *form* and *shape* belonged to the accidents, but *substance* belonged to the nature of the Elements. *Philpot* shewed that the occasion of his using these words was to prove against the *Eutychians*, that there was a true Human Nature in Christ, notwithstanding its union with the Godhead; which he proved by this Simile, That the Elements in the Eucharist remained in their Nature; so this must be understood of the substance of Bread and Wine; but to this no answer was made; and when he seemed to press it too far, he was commanded to be silent. *Haddon* cited many

Book III 1553. passages out of the Fathers, to shew that they believed Christ was still in Heaven, and that the Sacrament was a memorial of him till his second coming: He also asked, whether they thought that Christ did eat his own natural Body; and when that was confessed, he said it was needless to dispute with Men who could swallow down such an absurdity. The Disputation continued several Days: *Philpot* made a long Speech against the Corporal Presence, but was oft interrupted; for they told him that he might propose an Argument, but they would not hear him make Harangues. He undertook to prove before the Queen and her Council, that the Mass, as they had it, was no Sacrament at all, and that the Body of Christ was not present in it; and if he failed in it, he would be content to be burnt at the Court Gate. After some short time spent in citing passages out of the Fathers, *Philpot* was commanded to hold his peace, otherwise they would send him to Prison: He claimed the priviledge of the House for freedom of Speech, but being much cried down, he said they were a company of Men who had dissembled with God and the World in the late Reign, and were now met together to set forth false devices, which they were not able to maintain. *Theodoret*'s words were much and often insisted on; so *Weston* answered, If *Theodoret* should be yielded to them, they had an an hundred Fathers on the other side. *Cheyney* shewed out of *Hesychius*, that the custom of *Jerusalem* was to burn so much of the Elements as was not consumed: And he asked what it was that was burnt? One answered, it was either the Body of Christ, or the substance of Bread put there by Miracle; at which he smiled, and said a reply was needless. When much Discourse had past, *Weston* asked if the House were not fully satisfied? To which the Clergy answered *Yes*; but

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the Spectators cried out *No, No*; for the doors were opened: then *Weſton* asked the five Diſputants if they would anſwer the Arguments that ſhould be put to them? *Ailmer* ſaid, they would not enter into ſuch a Diſputation, where matters were ſo indecently carried: They propoſed only the Reaſons why they could not joyn with the Vote that had been put concerning the Sacrament, but unleſs they had fairer Judges, they would go no further. *Weſton* broke up all by ſaying, *You have the Word, but we have the Sword*; rightly pointing out that wherein the ſtrength of both ſides conſiſted. It is not to be doubted but that the Popiſh party pretended they had the Victory, for that always the ſtronger ſide does upon ſuch occaſions: Yet it was viſible that this Diſpute was not ſo fairly carried, as thoſe were in King *Edward*'s days; in which for near a year before any change was made, there were publick Diſputes in the Univerſities, which were more proper places for them, than a Town full of noiſe and buſineſs. The queſtion was alſo here determined firſt, and then diſputed: And the preſence and favour of the Privy Council did as much raiſe the one party, as it depreſſed the other. In the end of this year, *Veyſey* was again repoſſeſſed of the See of *Exeter*, *Coverdale* being now a Priſoner in the *Tower*. Book III 1553.

In the beginning of the next year, a great Ambaſſy came from the Emperour, to agree the Conditions of the Marriage between his Son and the Queen. *Gardiner* took care to have extraordinary ones granted, both to induce the Parliament more eaſily to conſent to it, and to keep the *Spaniards* from being admitted to any ſhare in the Government, that ſo he might keep it in his own hands. But the Emperour was reſolved to grant every thing that ſhould be asked. It was agreed that the Government ſhould be intirely in the Queen, and that though Pr. *Philip* was 1554. The Treaty of Marriage begun.

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Book III. 1553. to be named in all Writs, and his Image was to be on the Coin and Seals, yet the Queen's Hand alone was to give Authority to every thing, without his: No *Spaniard* was to be capable of any Office: No change was to be made in the Law, nor was the Queen to be required to go out of *England* againſt her will: Nor might their Iſſue go out of *England* but by conſent of the Nobility. The Queen was to have of Jointure *Forty thouſand Pounds* out of *Spain*, and *Twenty thouſand Pounds* out of the *Netherlands*: If the Queen had a Son, he was to inherit *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, as well as *England*; if Daughters only, they were to ſucceed to her Crowns, and to have ſuch Portions from *Spain*, as was ordinary to be given to Kings Daughters: The Prince was to have no ſhare in the Government after her Death: And the Queen might keep up her League with *France*, notwithſtanding this Match.

Which provokes ſome to rebel,

But this did not ſatisfie the Nation, which lookt on theſe offers only as baits to hook them into ſlavery. The ſeverities of the *Spaniſh* Government in all the Provinces that were united to that Crown, and the monſtrous Cruelties exerciſed in the *Weſt Indies*, were much talkt of; and it was ſaid *England* muſt now preſerve it ſelf, or be for ever inſlaved. *Carew* and *Wiat* undertook to raiſe the Countrey, the one in *Cornwall*, and the other in *Kent*, and the Duke of *Suffolk* promiſed to raiſe the Midland Counties: for the diſpoſition to riſe was general, and might have been fatal to the Queen, if there had been good Heads to have led the People. But before it grew ripe, the deſign was diſcovered, and upon that Sir *Peter Carew* fled to *France*.

Wiat's Rebellion.

Wiat gathered ſome Men about him, and on the 25*th* of *January* he made Proclamation at *Maidſton*, that he intended nothing but to preſerve the Nation from the Yoke of Strangers; and aſſured the People that all *England* would riſe. The Sheriff of

Kent

Kent required him, under pain of Treaſon, to diſperſe his Company; but he did not obey his Summons: One *Knevet* raiſed a Body of Men about *Tunbridge*, and marched towards him, but was intercepted and routed by a Force commanded by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was ſent with 200 Horſe, and 600 *Londoners* to diſſipate this Inſurrection; but ſome that came over from *Wiat* as Deſerters, perſwaded the *Londoners* that it was a Common Cauſe, in which they were engaged, to maintain the Liberty of the Nation: So they all went over to *Wiat*. Upon this, the Duke of *Norfolk* retired back to *London*; and *Wiat*, who had kept himſelf under the defence of *Rocheſter*-Bridge, advanced towards it. The Duke of *Suffolk* made a faint attempt to raiſe the Country, but it did not ſucceed, and he was taken and brought to the *Tower*. The Queen ſent the offer of a Pardon to *Wiat* and his Men; but that not being received by them, ſhe ſent ſome of her Council to treat with him. He was blown up with his ſmall ſucceſs, and moved that the Queen would come to the *Tower* of *London*, and put the command of it into his hands, till a new Council were ſetled about her: So it appeared there was no Treaty to be thought on. The Queen went into *London*, and made great proteſtations of her love to her People, and that ſhe would not diſpoſe of her ſelf in Marriage, but for the good of the Nation. *Wiat* was now four thouſand ſtrong, and came to *Southwark*, but could not force the Bridge of *London*: He was informed the City would all riſe, if he ſhould come to their aid; but he could not find Boats for paſſing over to *Eſſex*, ſo he was forced to go to the Bridge of *Kingſton*. On the fourth of *February* he came thither, but found it cut; yet his Men mended it, and he got to *Hide-Park* next Morning. His Men were weary and diſheartned, and now not above 500; ſo that though the Queen's Forces could eaſily have diſperſed them, yet

Book III 1554

Book III 1554. yet they let them go forward, that they might caſt themſelves into their Hands: He marched through the *Strand*, and got to *Ludgate*, where he hoped to have found the Gate opened; but being diſappointed, he turned back, and was forſaken by his Men, ſo that a Herauld without uſing any force, apprehended him at *Temple-bar*. It was on *Aſh-wedneſday*, and the Queen had ſhewed ſuch Courage that ſhe would not ſtir from *Whitehall*, nor would ſhe omit the Devotions of that Day; and this Succeſs was looked on as a reward from Heaven on her Piety. This raw and ill formed Rebellion was as lucky for the ends of the Court, as if *Gardiner* had projected it; for in a weak Government an ill digeſted Inſurrection raiſes the Power of the Prince, and adds as much Spirit to his Friends, as it depreſſes the Faction againſt him; and it alſo gives a handle to do ſome things, for which it were not eaſy otherwiſe to find either Colours or Inſtruments. The Popiſh Authors ſtudied to caſt the blame of this on the Reformed Preachers: But did not name any one of them that was in it; ſo it appears, that what ſome later Writers have ſaid of *Poinet*'s having been in it, is falſe; otherwiſe his Name had certainly been put in the number of thoſe that were Attainted for it.

Lady *Jane Gray*'s Execution.

Upon this, it was reſolved to proceed againſt Lady *Jane Gray*, and her Husband; ſhe had lived ſix Months in the daily Meditations of Death, ſo ſhe was not much ſurprized at it: *Fecknam*, who was ſent to prepare her for Death, acknowledged that he was aſtoniſhed at her calm Behaviour, her great Knowledge, and the extraordinary Senſe ſhe had of Religion. She writ to her Father to moderate his Grief for her Death, ſince it was great matter of Joy to her, that ſhe was ſo near an end of her Miſeries, and the enjoyment of Eternal Glory. One *Harding*, that had been her Father's Chaplain, and

a zealous Preacher in King *Edward*'s time, had now changed his Religion: To him she wrote a long and pathetick Letter, setting forth his Apostacy, and the Judgments of God, which he might expect upon it. She sent her *Greek* New Testament to her Sister with a Letter in *Greek*, recommending the study of that Book to her, and chiefly the following it in her practice: These were the last Exercises of this rare young Person. She was at first much moved, when she saw her Husband led out to his Execution, but recovered her self, when she considered how soon she was to follow him: And when he desired they might take leave of one another, she declined it; for she thought it would increase their Grief, and Disorder: And continued so setled in her Temper, that she saw his beheaded Body carried to a Chappel in the *Tower*, without expressing any visible concern about it. She was carried out next to a Scaffold set up within the *Tower*, to hinder great Crouds from looking on a sight, which was like to raise much Compassion in the Spectators. She confessed her sin, in taking an Honour that was due to another, though it was a thing neither procured nor desired by her; and acknowledged her other Sins against God, that she had loved her self, and the World too much; and thanked God for making her Afflictions a means to her Repentance: She declared she died a true Christian, trusting only to the Merits of *Christ*; then she repeated the LI *Psalm*, and stretched out her Head on the Block, which upon the signal given, was cut off. Her Death was as much lamented, as her Life had been admired. It affected Judge *Morgan*, that had pronounced the Sentence, so much, that he run mad, and thought she still followed him. The Queen her self was troubled at it; for it was rather reason of State, than private Resentment, that set her on to it.

Book III. 1554.

Her Father was soon after tried by his Peers, and Con-

Several others suffered.

Book III. 1554. Condemned and Executed. He was the leſs pitied, becauſe by his means his Daughter was brought to her untimely end. *Wiat* was brought to his Trial, he begged his Life in a moſt abject manner; but he was Condemned and Executed, and ſo were fifty eight more: Six hundred of the Rabble were appointed to come with Ropes about their Necks, and beg the Queen's pardon, which was granted them. A ſlander was caſt on the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, as if they had ſet on the riſing that was intended in the Weſt. *Wiat*, in hopes of Life had accuſed them, but he did them Juſtice at his Death; yet they were both put in Priſon upon it. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was accuſed of the ſame Crime, but after a long Trial, he was acquitted; yet his Jury were hardly uſed, and ſeverely fined. Sir *Jo. Cheek* was ſought for: ſo he fled beyond Sea, but both he and Sir *Peter Carew*, hoping that *Philip* would be glad to ſignalize his firſt coming to *England* with Acts of Grace, rendred themſelves to him: After that *Cheek* was again taken in *Flanders*, upon a new ſuſpicion, and to deliver himſelf out of his trouble, he renounced his Religon: But though he got his liberty upon that, yet he could never recover the quiet of his mind; ſo he languiſhed for ſome time, and died.

The Impoſture of the Spirit in the Wall,

There was at this time a baſe Impoſture diſcovered in *London*, one ſeemed to ſpeak out of a Wall, in a ſtrange tone of Voice. Great numbers flockt about the Houſe, and ſeveral things, both relating to Religion, and the State were uttered by it; but it was found to be one *Elizabeth Croſts*, who by the help of a Whiſtle ſpoke thoſe words through a Hole in the Wall. There was no other Complice found, but one *Drake*, and they both were made to do Penance for it publickly at St. *Paul*'s.

Injunctions ſent to the Biſhops.

Injunctions were now given to the Biſhops, to execute ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Laws as had been in force in

in King *Henry*'s time: That in their Courts they should proceed in their own Names; that the Oath of Supremacy should be no more exacted: none suspected of Heresy was to be put in Orders; they were required to suppress Heresye and Hereticks, and to turn out all Married Clergymen, and to separate them from their Wives: If they left their Wives, they might put them in some other Cure, or reserve a Pension for them, out of their Livings: none that had vowed Chastity, was to be suffered to live with his Wife: those that were Ordained by the Book, set out in King *Edward*'s time, were to be confirmed by all the other Rites then left out, and that was declared to be no valid Ordination. Book III. 1553.

The Queen gave also a special Commission to *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Tonstall*, *Day* and *Kitchin*, to proceed against the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishops of St. *David*'s, *Chester* and *Bristol*, and to deprive them of their Bishopricks, for having contracted Marriage, and thereby having broken their Vows, and defiled their Function. 'She also authorised 'them to call before them the Bishops of *Lincoln*, 'Glouceſter and *Hereford*, who held their Bishop-'ricks, only during their good behaviour; and since 'they had done things contrary to the Laws of God, 'and the Practice of the Universal Church, to de-'clare their Bishopricks void, *as they were in-deed already void*. And thus were seven of the Reformed Bishops turned out at a dash. It was much censured that those who had married according to a Law then in force, which was now only repealed for the future, should be deprived for it: And this was a new severity: For in former times, when the Popes were most set against the Marriage of the Clergy, it was put to their Option, whether they would part with their Wives, or with their Benefices: But none were summarily deprived, as was now done. The other Bishops, without any form

Many Bishops turn'd out. *Holgate*, *Ferrar*, *Bird*, *Bush*, *Tayler*, *Hooper*, *Harley*,

of

Book III of Proceſs, or ſpecial matter objected to them, were turned out, by an Act of meer Arbitrary Government. And all this was done by vertue of the Queen's being *Head of the Church*, which, though ſhe condemned as a ſinful and ſacrilegious Power, yet ſhe now imployed it againſt thoſe Biſhops, whoſe Sees were quickly filled with Men, in whom the Queen confided. *Goodrick* died this Year: It ſeems he complied with the Change now made, otherwiſe he that put the Seal to Lady *Jane*'s Patents, could not eſcape being queſtioned for it. He was an ambitious Man, and ſo no wonder, if earthly Conſiderations prevailed more with him, than a good Conſcience. *Scory*, who was Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, renounced his Wife, and did Penance for his Marriage, but ſoon after he fled beyond Sea, and returned in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign: So that his compliance was the effect of his weakneſs and fears. *Barlow* reſigned *Bath* and *Wells*, and a Book of Recantation was publiſhed in his Name, containing ſevere reflections both on the Reformers, and on the Reformation it ſelf; but it is not certain, whether it was writ by him, or was only a Forgery, put out in his Name; for if he turned ſo heartily, as the ſtrain of that Book runs, it is not likely that he would have been put from his Biſhoprick: but he fled beyond Sea: yet it ſeems, both *Scory* and *he* gave great offence by their behaviour; for though they were the only ſurviving Reformed Biſhops, when Queen *Elizabeth* ſucceeded, yet they were ſo far from being promoted, that they were not ſo much as reſtored to their former Sees, but put in meaner ones. By all theſe deprivations and reſignations, there were ſixteen new Biſhops made, which made no ſmall change in the face of the *Engliſh* Church. Now the Old Service was every where ſet up, in which *Bonner* made ſuch haſte, that before the Royal Af-

1554.

was

was given to the Bill for it, he began the Old Service and Proceſſions. The firſt opening of it was ſomewhat ſtrange, for it being on St. *Katherine*'s day, the Quiriſters went up to the Steeple, and ſung the Anthem there, according to the Cuſtom for that Day. Great numbers of the Clergy were ſummarily deprived for being Married, they were eſtimated by *Parker* to be *Twelve thouſand*, and moſt of them were judged upon common fame, without any Proceſs, but a Citation; and many being then in Priſon, yet were Cenſured, and put out for Contumacy, and held guilty. Many Books were written againſt the Marriage of the Clergy, and the accuſing them of Impurity and Senſuality on that account, was one of the chief Topicks uſed by the Popiſh Clergy, to diſgrace the Reformers, which made ſome recriminate too indecently, and lay open the Filthineſs of the Unmarried Clergy, and thoſe that were called Religious, who led moſt Irregular Lives; in particular, it was ſaid, *Bonner* had no reaſon to be a Friend to that ſtate, for he was the Baſtard of a Baſtard, and his Father, though a Prieſt, begat him in Adultery. Book III. 1554.

On the 2*d* of *April* a Parliament met, but the moſt conſiderable Members were before-hand corrupted by *Gardiner*, who gave them Penſions, ſome 200, and others 100 *l.* a Year for their Voices. The firſt Act that paſt was Declaratory, that all the Prerogatives and Limitations, which by Law belonged to the Kings of *England*, were the ſame, whether the Crown fell into the Hands of a Male or a Female. The ſecret of this was little known; ſome were afraid there was an ill deſign in it, and that it being declared that ſhe had all the Authority, which any of her Progenitors ever had, it might be inferred from thence, that ſhe might pretend to a Right of Conqueſt, and ſo ſeize on the Eſtates of the *Engliſh*, as *William* the Conqueror had done, but it was ſo conceived, that

A new Parliament.

A Propoſition to make the Queen Abſolute.

Book III that the Queen was put under the ſame Limitations,
as well as acknowledged to have the ſame Prerogatives with her Progenitors: The ſecret of this was
1554. afterwards diſcovered. A projecting Man, that had ſerved *Cromwell*, and loved to meddle much, had been deeply engaged both in Lady *Jane*'s Buſineſs, and in the late Inſurrection, and was now in danger of his Life, ſo he made application to the Emperor's Ambaſſadour, and by his means obtained his Pardon. He offered a Project, That the Queen ſhould declare, that ſhe ſucceeded to the Crown by the Common-Law, but was not tied by the Statute-Law, which did only bind Kings, and therefore a Queen was not obliged by it; thus ſhe might pretend to be a Conqueror, and Rule at pleaſure; and by this means might reſtore both Religion, and the *Abbey-Lands*, and be under no reſtraint: This the Ambaſſadour brought to the Queen, and prayed her to keep it very ſecret: But ſhe diſliked it, yet ſhe ſent for *Gardiner*, and charged him to give her his Opinion of it ſincerely, as he would anſwer to God for it at the Great Day. He read it carefully, and told her, it was a moſt pernicious Contrivance, and beg'd her not to liſten to ſuch Platforms, which might be brought her by baſe Cycophants: Upon that ſhe burnt the Paper, and charged the Ambaſſadour not to bring her any more ſuch Projects. This gave *Gardiner* great apprehenſions of the Miſchiefs that *Spaniſh* Counſels might bring on the Nation, and ſo he procured the Act to be made, by which the Queen was bound by the Law, as much as her Anceſtors were. He alſo got an Act to be paſt, ratifying the Articles of the Marriage, with ſtrong Clauſes, for keeping the Government entirely in the Queen's Hands; that ſo *Philip* might not take it on him, as *Henry* the VII. had done, when he married the Heir of the Houſe of *York*: For, as he ſet up a Title in his own Name, and kept the Govern-

ment

ment in his own Hands; ſo the *Spaniards* began to reckon a deſcent from *John* of *Gaunt*; which made *Gardiner* the more cautious: And it muſt be confeſſed, that the preſerving the Nation out of the Hands of the *Spaniards*, was almoſt only owing to his Care and Wiſdom. The Biſhoprick of *Durham* was again reſtored, after a vigorous reſiſtance made by thoſe of *Gateſide* near *Newcaſtle*. The Attainders of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Fifty eight more, for the late Rebellion, were confirmed: The Commons ſent up four ſeveral Bills againſt *Lollards*, one confirming the Act of the ſix Articles, and others againſt Erroneous Opinions; but they were all laid aſide by the Lords; For the corrupted Members in the Lower-Houſe, were officious to ſhew their Zeal for *Spain* and *Popery*: Another Bill was ſent up by them, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould have no Authority to trouble any for poſſeſſing *Abbey-Lands*. But it was ſaid, this was prepoſterous to begin with a limitation of the Pope's Authority, before they had acknowledged, that he had any Power at all in *England*: And that would come in more properly, after they had reconciled the Nation to him. Book III 1554.

During this Parliament, the Convocation ſat, and that they might remove the Objections that ſome made to the Diſputations at their laſt meeting, that the ableſt Men of the Reformers were kept in Priſon, while that Cauſe was debated, they ſent a Committee of their ableſt Men to *Oxford*, to diſpute with *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Latimer*, who were alſo ſent thither. The Points to be diſputed about, were Tranſubſtantiation, and the Sacrifice of the Maſs. When *Cranmer* was brought before them, and they exhorted him to return to the Unity of the Church; he anſwered, that he was always for that Unity, which could conſiſt with Truth. They fell into a long Diſpute concerning the words of the New Diſputations at *Oxford* with *Cranmer*.

Book III 1554. Inſtitution, that they muſt be true, for Chriſt was Truth, and was then making his Teſtament: Many Paſſages of the Fathers were alſo alledged againſt him; it was ſaid, that he had tranſlated many things falſly out of the Fathers, in his Book: And the Prolocutor called him often an *Unlearned and Impudent Man:* But he carried himſelf with that Gravity and Mildneſs, that many were obſerved to be much affected at it, and to weep: He vindicated his ſincerity in his Book; he ſhewed that figurative Speeches were true; and when the Figures were clearly underſtood, they were likewiſe plain; he ſaid, the Sacrament was effectually and really Chriſt's Body, as it was broken on the Croſs, that is, his Paſſion effectually applied to us. The whole Action was carried with ſuch hiſſing and inſulting, and ended with ſuch ſhouts of Triumph, as if *Cranmer* had been quite baffled, that it was viſible there was nothing intended, but to abuſe the ignorant People, and make them believe he was run down. *Ridley* was brought out next Day, he began with deep Proteſtations of his Sincerity, and that he had changed the Opinion he had been bred up in, meerly upon the force of Truth; he argued from the Scriptures, that ſpeak of Chriſt's leaving the World, and ſitting at the Right Hand of God; and that the Sacrament was a Memorial, which good and bad might equally receive; that it was againſt the Human Nature, to ſwallow down a living Man; that this Opinion was contrary to the Humanity of Chriſt, and was a new Doctrine unknown to the Fathers, and brought into the Church in the later Ages. *Smith* argued againſt him, from Chriſt's appearing to St. *Stephen*, and to St. *Paul*, that he might be in more places at once. *Ridley* ſaid, Chriſt might either come down and appear to them, or a Repreſentation might be made of him, but he could not be both in Heaven and Earth at once. Many of *Chryſoſtome's*

Sostome's Expreſſions were alledged, but he ſaid, Book III.
theſe were Rhetorical Figures, and to be ex-
plained by other plainer paſſages. The Diſpute 1554.
was carried on with the ſame Inſultings, that had been uſed the Day before: And in concluſion, *Weſton* the Prolocutor ſaid, they ſaw the Obſtinacy, Vain-glory, and Inconſtancy of that Man, but they ſaw likewiſe the force of Truth; ſo he bid them cry out with him, *Truth has the Victory*: Upon which that was ecchoed over and over again, by the whole Aſſembly, *Latimer* was brought out next Day, he told them he was fourſcore Years old, and not fit for Diſputing, ſo he would declare his Opinion, and then leave them to ſay what they pleaſed. He thought the Sacrament was only a Memorial of Chriſt; all who fed on Chriſt had Eternal Life, and therefore that feeding could not be meant of the Sacrament, ſince both good and bad received it; he ſaid, his Memory was much impaired, but his Faith was founded on the Word of God; ſo that though he could not Diſpute well, yet his Faith was firmly rooted. Upon this, there were extraordinary ſhouts raiſed, and during the whole Debates, the noiſe and diſorder was ſuch, that it ~~lookt liker~~ a Country Game, than a Diſpute among Divines; four or five ſpoke oft at once. ſo that it was not poſſible to hear what they ſaid, much leſs to anſwer it. The Committee of Convocation condemned them all, as obſtinate Hereticks, and declared them to be no Members of the Church; they appealed from their Sentence to the Judgment of God, and expreſſed great Joy in the hopes they had, they ſhould glorify God by dying for his Truth. *Cranmer* ſent a Petition to the Council, complaining of the Diſorder of theſe Diſputes, and of hudling them up in ſuch haſte, that it was viſible, nothing was intended by them, but to ſhuffle up things ſo, that the World might be more eaſily abuſed with the

Book III name of a Diſputation. But this was not delivered; for it was intended to keep up this boaſting, that 1554. the Champions of the Reformation were publickly baffled.

It was alſo reſolved to carry ſome of the Priſoners, that were in *London*, to *Cambridge*, and there to erect new Trophies in the ſame manner they had done at *Oxford*. Upon this, three of the impriſoned Biſhops, and ſeven Divines, ſigned a Paper, by which they declared, that they would engage in no Diſpute, except it were in Writing, unleſs it were in the preſence of the Queen, or the Council, or before either of the Houſes of Parliament. It was viſible, the deſign of diſputing was not to find out the Truth, otherwiſe it had been done, before theſe Points had been ſo poſitively determined: but now there was no benefit to be expected by it; nor could they look for fair dealing, where their Enemies were to be their Judges: nor would they ſuffer them to ſpeak their minds freely, and after ſo long an Impriſonment, their Books and Papers being kept from them, they could not be furniſhed to anſwer many things that might be objected to them. Then they added a ſhort account of their Perſwaſions in the chief Points of Controverſie, which they would be ready to defend on fair and equal terms: and concluded with a charge to all People not to Rebel againſt the Queen, but to obey all her Commands, that were not contrary to the Law of God.

The Pr. of *Spain* lands, and marries the Queen.

In *July*, Prince *Philip* landed at *Southampton*: when he ſet foot to Land, he drew his Sword, and carried it a little way naked in his Hand. This was interpreted, as a ſign, that he intended to rule by the Sword; but his Friends ſaid, it imported, that he would draw his Sword for the defence of the Nation. The Mayor of *Southampton* brought him the Keys of the Town, which he took from him,

him, and gave them back, without the leaſt ſhew of his being pleaſed with this expreſſion of that reſpect done him. This not being ſuitable to the Genius of the Nation, that is much taken with gracious looks of their Princes, was thought a ſign of vaſt pride and moroſeneſs. The Queen met him at *Wincheſter*, where they were married: he being then in the XXVII. and ſhe in the XXXVIII. Year of her Age. The Emperour reſigned to him his Tituler Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and his more valuable one of *Naples*; ſo they were proclaimed with a Pompous Enumeration of their Titles. The Kings gravity was very unacceptable to the *Engliſh*, who love a mean between the ſtiffneſs of the *Spaniards*, and the gaity of the *French*. But if they did not like his temper, they were out of meaſure in love with his Bounty and Wealth: For he brought over a vaſt Treaſure with him, the greateſt part of which was diſtributed among thoſe, who for his *Spaniſh* Gold, had ſold their Countrey and Religion. At his coming to *London*, he procured the Pardon of many Priſoners, and among others, of *Holgate* Archbiſhop of *York*, of whom I find no mention made after this. It is very likely he changed his Religion, otherwiſe it is not probable that *Philip* would have interceded for him. He alſo interpoſed for preſerving Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire*. *Gardiner* was much ſet againſt them, and thought they made but half work, as long as ſhe lived. *Wiat* had accuſed them, in hopes of ſaving his Life; but when that did not preſerve him, he did publickly vindicate them on the Scaffold. The Earl of *Devonſhire*, to be freed from all jealouſie, went beyond Sea, and died a Year after in *Italy*, as ſome ſay, of Poiſon. *Philip* at firſt took care to preſerve Lady *Elizabeth*, on a generous account, pitying her Innocence, and hoping by ſo acceptable an act of favour to recom-

Book III. 1554.

Book III 1554. mend himſelf to the Nation: but Intereſt did ſoon after fortifie thoſe good and wiſe Inclinations; for when he grew to be out of hope of iſſue by the Queen, he conſidered that the Queen of *Scotland*, who was ſoon after married to the *Dolphin*, was next in Succeſſion after Lady *Elizabeth*; ſo if ſhe ſhould be put out of the way, the Crown of *England* would have become an Acceſſion to the *French* Crown: and therefore took care to preſerve her, and perhaps he hoped to have wrought ſo much on her, by the good Offices he did her, that if her Siſter ſhould die without Children, ſhe might be induced to marry him. But this was the only grateful thing he did in *England*. He affected ſo extravagant a ſtate, and was ſo ſullen and ſilent, that it was not eaſy for any to come within the Court; and Acceſs to him was not to be had, without demanding it with almoſt as much formality as Ambaſſadours uſed when they deſired an Audience: So that a General diſcontent was quickly ſpread into moſt places of the Kingdom, only *Gardiner* was well pleaſed, for the Conduct of Affairs was put intirely in his hands. Many malicious reports were ſpread of the Queen, particularly in *Norfolk*; at one of theſe the Queen was much concerned, which was, that ſhe was with Child before the King came over; but after great examinations, nothing could be made out of it.

The Biſhops viſit their Dioceſſes.

The Biſhops went to make their Viſitations this Summer, to ſee whether the old Service, with all its Rites, was again ſet up; they alſo enquired concerning the lives and labours of the Clergy, of their Marriage, and their living chaſtly; whether they were ſuſpected of Hereſy, or favouring Hereticks? whether they went to Taverns or Alehouſes? whether they admitted any to officiate, that had been Ordained ſchiſmatically, before they were reconciled; or to preach, if they had not obtained a Licence?

Licence? whether they viſited the ſick, and adminiſtred the Sacraments reverently? whether they were guilty of Merchandiſe, or Uſury? and whether they did not once every Quarter at leaſt, expound to the People the Elements of the Chriſtian Religion in the Vulgar Tongue? they did not proceed ſteadily, in relation to the Ordinations made in King *Edward*'s time; for at this time all that they did, was to add the Ceremonies that were then left out in the Book of Ordinations; but afterwards they carried themſelves, as if they had eſteemed thoſe Orders of no force; and therefore they did not degrade thoſe Biſhops or Prieſts, that had been Ordained by it: Nor has the Church of *Rome* been ſteady in this matter; for though upon ſome Schiſms, they have annulled all Ordinations made in them; yet they have not annulled the Ordinations of the *Greek* Church, though they eſteem the *Greeks* both Hereticks and Schiſmaticks: Thus there were many queſtions put in among the Articles of the Viſitation, yet theſe were asked only for Form, the main buſineſs was Hereſy, and the performing all Offices according to the old Cuſtoms: and the leaſt failing in theſe matters, was more ſeverely enquired after, and more exemplarily puniſhed, than far greater offences. *Bonner* carried himſelf like a Mad-man; and it was ſaid by his Friends, to excuſe the Violences of his rage, that his Brains were a little diſordered by his long Impriſonment: For if either the Bells had not rung, when he came near any Church, or if he had not found the Sacrament expoſed, he was apt to break out into the foulеſt language: and not content with that, he was accuſtomed to beat his Clergy, when he was diſpleaſed with any thing: for he was naturally cruel and brutal. He took care to have thoſe places of Scripture, that had been painted on the Walls of the Churches, to be

Book III 1554.

waſhed

Book III. 1554. washed off: And upon this it was said, That it was necessary to dash out the Scripture, to make way for Images, for they agreed so ill, that they could not decently stand together. Many mock Poems and Satyrs were flying up and down: But none was more provoking, than one that followed on an Accident at Saint *Pauls* on *Easter*-Day: The custom was to lay the Host in the Sepulchre at Even-Song, on *Good-Friday*, and to take it out on *Easter* Morning; the *Quire* sung these Words, *He is risen, he is not here*, when it was taken out: but when they lookt to take it out, they found it was not *there* indeed, for one had stollen it away, but another was quickly brought; so a Ballad was made, that their God was lost, but a new one was put in his room: Great pains were taken to discover the Author of this, but he was not found.

Another Parliament.

The *Queen*'s third Parliament met on the 11*th* of *November*; In the Writ of Summons the *Queen*'s Title of *Supream Head* was left out, though she had hitherto not only used the Name, but had assumed the Power imported by it, to a high degree. *Pool* was now suffered to come so near as *Flanders*; and the Temper of the Parliament being quickly found to be favourable to the work he came for, the *Queen* sent two Lords, *Paget* and *Hastings*, for him. Both King and *Queen* rode in State to *Westminster*, and each had a Sword of State carried before them. The first Bill that past, was a repeal of *Pool*'s Attainder, it was read by the Commons three times in one Day; and the Bill was passed without making a Session by a short Prorogation. He came over, and entred privately to *London*, on the 24*th* of *November*; for the *Pope*'s Authority not being yet acknowledged, he could not be received as a Legate. His Instructions were full, besides the Authority commonly lodged with Legates; which consists chiefly in the many Graces and Dispensations that they

they are impowered to grant; though it might be expected, that they ſhould come rather to ſee the Canons obeyed, than broken: only the more ſcandalous abuſes were ſtill reſerved to the Popes themſelves, whoſe ſpecial Prerogative it has always been, to be the moſt Eminent Tranſgreſſors of all Canons and Conſtitutions. Book III 1554.

Pool made his firſt Speech to the King and Queen, and then to the Parliament, in the Name of the Common Paſtor, inviting them to return to the Sheepfold of the Church. The Queen felt a ſtrange emotion of joy within her, as he made his Speech, which ſhe thought was a Child quickned in her Belly; and the flattering Court-Ladies heightned her belief of it. The Council ordered *Bonner* to ſing *Te Deum*; and there were Bonfires, and all other publick demonſtrations of joy upon it. The Prieſts ſaid, that here was another *John Baptiſt* to come, that leapt in his Mother's Belly upon the Salutation from Chriſt's Vicar. Both Houſes agreed on an Addreſs to the King and Queen, that they would intercede with the Legate, to reconcile them to the See of *Rome*, and they offered to repeal all the Laws they had made againſt the *Pope*'s Authority, in ſign of their repentance. Upon this, the Cardinal came to the Parliament. He firſt thanked them for repealing his Attainder, in recompence of which, he was now to reconcile them to the Body of the Church: He made a long Speech, of the Converſion of the *Britains* and *Saxons* to the Faith, and of the Obedience they had payed to the Apoſtolick See; and of the many favours that See had granted the Crown, of which none was more Eminent than the Title of *Defender of the Faith*. The ruin of the *Greek* Church, and the diſtractions of *Germany*, and the Confuſions themſelves had been in, ſince they departed from the Unity of the Church, might convince them of the neceſſity of keeping that bond

The Nation is reconciled to the See of *Rome*.

Book III bond entire. In Concluſion, he gave them and the whole Nation a Plenary Abſolution. The 1554. reſt of the Day was ſpent in ſinging *Te Deum*, and the Night in Bonfires. The Act, repealing all Laws made againſt the *Pope*'s authority, was quickly paſt, only it ſtuck a little, by reaſon of a Proviſo, which the Houſe of Lords put in for ſome Lands, which the Lord *Wentworth* had of the See of *London*, which the Commons oppoſed ſo much, that after the Bill was offered to the Royal Aſſent, it was cut out of the Parchment by *Gardiner*. 'They did enu-
'merate and repeal all Acts made ſince the 20*th* of
'*Hen.* 8. againſt the *Pope*'s Authority, but all foun-
'dations of Biſhopricks and Cathedrals, all Mar-
'riages, tho' contrary to the Laws of the Church,
'all Inſtitutions, all Judicial Proceſſes, and the Set-
'tlements made, either of Church or *Abbey*-Lands,
'were confirmed. The Convocation of *Canterbury*
'had joined their Interceſſion with the Cardinal,
'that he would confirm the right of the preſent
'Poſſeſſors of thoſe Lands: Upon which he did con-
'firm them, but he added a heavy charge, requir-
'ing thoſe that had any of the Goods of the Church,
'to remember the Judgments of God that fell on
'*Belſhazzar*, for profaning the holy Veſſels, though
'they were not taken away by himſelf, but by his
'Father; and that, at leaſt, they would take
'care, that ſuch as ſerved the Cures, ſhould be
'be ſufficiently maintained: all which was put in
'the Act, and confirmed by it; and it was declared,
'that all Suits concerning thoſe Lands were to be
'tried in the Civil Courts: and that it ſhould be a
'*Præmunire*, if any went about to diſturb the Poſ-
'ſeſſors, by the pretence of an Eccleſiaſtical Power.
'They alſo declared, That the Title of *Supream*
'*Head of the Church*, did never of right belong to
'the Crown; and enacted that it ſhould be left out
'of Writs in all time coming. All exemptions

'granted

'granted to Monaſteries, and now continued in Lay- Book III
'hands, were taken away, and all Churches were
'made ſubject to Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, except 1554.
'*Weſtminſter*, *Windſor*, and the *Tower* of *London*.
'The Statute of *Mortmain* was repealed for 20
'Years to come, and all things were brought back
'to the State in which they were, in the 20th
'year of King *Henry*'s Reign. The Lower-Houſe
of Convocation gave occaſion to many clauſes in this
Act, by a Petition which they made to the Upper-
Houſe, 'Conſenting to the ſettlement made of
'Church and *Abbey*-Lands; and praying that the
'Statute of *Mortmain* might be repealed, and that
'all the Tithes might be reſtored to the Church:
'they propoſed alſo things in relation to Religi-
'on, for the condemning and burning all Heretical
'Books, and that great care ſhould be had of
'the Printing and Venting of Books; that the
'Church ſhould be reſtored to its former Ju-
'riſdiction, that Pluralities and Non-reſidence
'might be effectually condemned, and all Simoni-
'acal pactions puniſhed; that the Clergy might be
'diſcharged of paying Firſt-fruits and Tenths; that
'Exemptions might be taken away; that all the
'Clergy ſhould go in their Habits, and that they
'ſhould not be ſued in a *Præmunire*, till a Pro-
'hibition were firſt ſerved, and diſobeyed, that ſo
'they might not be ſurpriſed and ruined a ſecond
'time. By another Bill all former Acts made a-
gainſt *Lollards* were revived. The Commons of-
fered another Bill for voiding all Leaſes made by
married Prieſts, but it was laid aſide by the Lords.
Thus were the Penſioners and aſpiring Men in the
Houſe of Commons, either redeeming former faults,
or hoping to merit highly by the forwardneſs of
their Zeal. By another Bill ſeveral things were
made Treaſon: And 'it was declared, that if the
'Queen dyed before the King, and left any Chil-
dren,

Book III 'dren, the King ſhould have the Government in his 'Hands, till they were of Age; and during that 1554. 'time the conſpiring his Death was made *Treaſon*, 'but none were to be tryed for words, but within 'ſix Months after they were ſpoken. Another Act 'paſt declaring it Treaſon in any to pray for the 'Queens death, unleſs they repented of it, and in 'that caſe they were to ſuffer Corporal puniſhment 'at the Judges diſcretion. A ſevere Act was alſo paſſed againſt all that ſpread lying Reports of the King, the Queen, the Peers, Judges, or great Officers. Some were to loſe their Hands, others their Ears, and others were to be fined according to the degree of their Offence.

Gardiner's policy in the ſteps of this change.

And thus all Affairs were carried in Parliament as well as the Court could wiſh: and upon this, *Gardiner's* reputation was much raiſed, for bringing about ſo great a Change in ſo little time, with ſo little oppoſition. He took much pains to remove all the Objections that were generally made uſe of: they were chiefly two, the one was the fear of coming under ſuch Tyranny from *Rome*, as their Anceſtors had groaned under; and the other was the loſs of the *Abbey-Lands*. But to the firſt, he ſaid, that all the old Laws againſt Proviſions from *Rome*, ſhould ſtill continue in force: and to ſhew them, that Legates ſhould exerciſe no dangerous Authority in *England*, he made *Pool* take out a Licence, under the Great Seal, for his Legatine Power. As for the other he promiſed both an Act of Parliament, and Convocation, confirming them, and undertook that the *Pope* ſhould ratifie theſe, as well as his Legate did now conſent to them. But to all this, it was anſwered, That if the Nation were again brought under the old Superſtition, and the Papal Authority eſtabliſhed, it would not be poſſible to bridle that Power, which would be no longer within limits, if once they became Maſters again, and brought the World

World under a blind Obedience. It was objected, that the Church-Lands must be certainly taken back, it was not likely the *Pope* would confirm the alienation of them; but though he should do it, yet his Successors might annul that as Sacrilegious. And it was observed in the charge, which *Pool* gave to all, to make restitution; and by the repeal of the statute of *Mortmain*, that it was intended to possess the Nation with an Opinion of the Unlawfulness of keeping those Lands, which would probably work much on Men that were near Death, and could not resist the terrours of Purgatory, or perhaps of Hell, for the sin of Sacriledge: and so would be easily induced to make restitution of them, especially at such a time when they were not able to possess them any longer themselves. Book III 1554.

Now the Parliament was at an end: and the first thing taken into consideration, was, what way they ought to proceed against the Hereticks. *Pool* had been suspected to bear some favour to them formerly, but he took great care to avoid all occasions of being any more blamed for that: and indeed he lived in that distrust of all the *English*, that he opened his thoughts to very few: for his chief Confidents were two *Italians* that came over with him, *Priuli* and *Ormaneto*. Secretary *Cecyl*, who in matters of Religion complied with the present time, was observed to have more of his favour than any *English* Man had. *Pool* was an Enemy to all severe proceedings; he thought Church-men should have the tenderness of a Father, and the care of a Shepherd, and ought to reduce, but not devour the stray sheep: he had observed that Cruelty rather inflamed than cured that Distemper: he thought the better and surer way, was to begin with an effectual Reformation of the manners of the Clergy, since it was the scandals given by their ill Conduct Consultations about the way of proceeding against Hereticks.

and

Book III 1554. and Ignorance, that was the chief cauſe of the growth of Hereſy: ſo he concluded, that if a Primitive Diſcipline ſhould be revived, the Nation would by degrees lay down their prejudices, and might in time be gained by gentle methods. *Gardiner*, on the other hand, being of an abject and cruel temper himſelf, thought the ſtrict execution of the Laws againſt the *Lollards*, was that to which they ought chiefly to truſt: If the *Preachers* were made publick Examples, he concluded the People would be eaſily reclaimed: For he pretended, that it was viſible, if King *Henry* had executed the Act of the Six Articles vigorouſly, all would have ſubmitted: He confeſſed a Reformation of the Clergy was a good thing, but all times could not bear it: If they ſhould proceed ſeverely againſt ſcandalous Church-men, the Hereticks would take advantage from that, to defame the Church the more, and raiſe a Clamour againſt all Clergymen. *Gardiner*'s Spite was at this time much whetted by the reprinting of his Books of true Obedience, which was done at *Strasburg*, and ſent over. In it he had called King *Henry*'s Marriage with Queen *Katherine*, *Inceſtuous*, and had juſtified his Divorce, and his *ſecond Marriage with his moſt godly and virtuous Wife, Queen Anne*. This was a ſevere expoſing of him, but he had Brow enough, and bore down theſe Reproaches, by ſaying, *Peter* had denied his Maſter: But others ſaid, that ſuch a Compliance of twenty five Years continuance was very unjuſtly compared to a ſudden denial, that was preſently expiated with ſo ſincere a Repentance. The *Queen* was for joining both theſe Councils together, and intended to proceed at the ſame time, both againſt Scandalous Church-men and Hereticks. After the Parliament was over, there was a ſolemn Proceſſion of many Biſhops and Prieſts, *Bonner* carrying the Hoſt, to thank God for reconciling the Nation

tion again to St. *Peter*'s Chair; and it having been done on St. *Andrew*'s Day, that was appointed to be an Anniversary, and was called, *The Feast of the Reconciliation.* Book III 1555.

But soon after began the Persecution: *Rogers*, *Hooper*, *Taylor*, *Bradford*, and Seven more were brought before the Council, and asked one by one, if they would return to the Union of the Catholick Church, and acknowledge the Pope: But they all answered resolutely, That they had renounced the Pope's Power, as all the Bishops had also done; they were assured he had no Authority, but over his own Dioceſs, for the first Four Ages, so they could not submit to his Tyranny. *Gardiner* told them, Mercy was now offered them; but if they rejected it, Justice would be done next: So they were all sent back to Prison, except one, who had great Friends, so he was only asked, if he would be an honest Man, and upon that promise was dismist. They began with *Rogers*, whose Imprisonment was formerly mentioned. Many had advised him to make his escape, and fly to *Germany*: But he would not do it, though a Family of Ten Children was a great Temptation. A Persecution set on foot

Both *He* and *Hooper* were brought before *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstall*, and three other Bishops. They asked them, Whether they would submit to the Church, or not? But they answered, That they looked on the Church of *Rome* as Antichristian. *Gardiner* said, that was a reproach on the Queen. *Rogers* said, they honoured the Queen, and lookt for no ill at her Hands, but as she was set on to it by them: Upon that, *Gardiner*, and the other Bishops declared, that so far were they from setting on the Queen to the executing of the Law, that she commanded them to do it; and this was confirmed by two Privy Councellours that were present. In conclusion, they gave them time till next Morning to consider *Rogers* and *Hooper* condemned and burnt.

Book III 1555. ſider what they would do, and then they continuing firm, they declared them obſtinate Hereticks, and degraded them: But they did not eſteem *Hooper* a Biſhop, ſo he was only degraded from the Order of Prieſthood. *Rogers* was not ſuffered to ſee his Wife nor his Children, yet ſo little did this terrible Sentence fright him, that the Morning of his Execution, he was ſo faſt aſleep, that he was not eaſily awakened: He was carried from *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, on the 4*th* of *February*; a Pardon was offered him at the Stake, if he would recant, but he refuſed it on ſuch terms; and ſaid, he would not exchange a quick Fire for everlaſting Burnings, but declared that he reſigned up his Life with Joy, as a teſtimony to the Doctrine which he had preached. *Hooper* was ſent to *Glouceſter*, at which he rejoyced, for he hoped by his Death to confirm many there. He ſpake to ſeveral whom he had formerly known, ſome of them, in compaſſion to him, wept by him, which made him ſhed tears; but he ſaid, all he had ſuffered in his Impriſonment, had not moved him to do ſo much: He was burnt on the 9*th* of *February*: A Pardon was alſo offered him at the Stake, but to no effect. A great Wind blew while he was burning, and hindred the Flame to riſe up and choke him, or deſtroy his Vitals; ſo that he was near three quarters of an Hour in great torment, but he continued ſtill calling on God; his laſt words were, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit*. *Sanders*, who had been Miniſter at *Coventry*, and *Taylor*, that was Miniſter at *Hadly*, were at the ſame time condemned, and ſent to be burnt at the places where they had ſerved: The former was firſt committed for Preaching without Licence, after the Queen's Prohibition; and the latter for making oppoſition to ſome Prieſts, that broke violently into his Church, and ſaid Maſs in it. *Gardiner* was in hope, that theſe four Executions being made in ſeveral

veral Parts of *England*, would have ſtruck ſo general a terrour in the whole Party, that there would have been little occaſion for further Severities: But when he ſaw ſix more were ſoon after Apprehended on the ſame account, and that the Spirits of thoſe called *Hereticks*, were now rather inflamed than depreſſed, he reſolved to meddle no more in thoſe Trials; and turned over that inviduous matter to *Bonner*, whoſe Temper was ſo Cruel, that he undertook it cheerfully. Book III 1555.

The Burning much condemned.

Theſe Severities were very hateful to the Nation. It was obſerved, that in King *Edward*'s time, thoſe that oppoſed the Laws, were only turned out of their Benefices, and ſome few of them were put in Priſon; but now Men were put in Priſon on trifling pretences, and kept there till Laws were made, by which they were condemned meerly for their Opinion, for they had acted nothing contrary to Law. One Piece of Cruely was alſo ſingular: When the Council ſent away thoſe that were to be burnt in the Country, they threatned to cut out their Tongues, if they would not promiſe to make no Speeches to the People; which they, to avoid that Butchery, were forced to promiſe. Some made reflections on the length and ſharpneſs of *Hooper*'s Torment, as a puniſhment on him, for the Conteſt he had raiſed in the Church about the Veſtments: *Ridley* and *He* had been entirely reconciled, and writ very affectionate Letters to one another. The ſenſe they had of thoſe Differences, when they were preparing for another World, and that bitter paſſage, through which they were to go to it, ought to inſpire all others with more moderate thoughts in ſuch matters. Thoſe that loved the Reformation, were now poſſeſſed with great averſion to the Popiſh Party, and the whole Body of the Nation grew to diſlike this Cruelty; and came to hate King *Philip* for it. *Gardiner*, and the other Councellours

Book III lours had openly ſaid, that the Queen ſet them on to it, ſo the blame of it was laid on the King, the ſowerneſs of whoſe Temper, together with his bigottry in matters of Religion, made it ſeem reaſonable to charge him with it. He finding that this was like to raiſe ſuch Prejudices againſt him, as might probably ſpoil his deſign of making himſelf Maſter of *England*, took care to vindicate himſelf. ſo his Confeſſor *Alphonſus*, a *Franciſcan*, preached a Sermon at Court, againſt taking away Peoples Lives for Opinions in Religion; and inveighed againſt the Biſhops for doing it: By this, the blame was turned back on them, and this made them ſtop for ſome Weeks; but at laſt they reſolved rather to bear the blame of the Perſecution avowedly, than not to go on in it.

1555.

Arguments againſt them, and

At this time a Petition was Printed beyond Sea; by which the Reformers addreſſed themſelves to the Queen, they ſet before her the danger of her being carried by a blind Zeal, to deſtroy the Members of Chriſt, as St. *Paul* had done before his Converſion: They remembred her of *Cranmer*'s interpoſing to preſerve her Life in her Father's time: They cited many Paſſages out of *Gardiner*, *Bonner* and *Tonſtall*, by which ſhe migh ſee that they were not acted by true Principles of Conſcience, but were turned as their Fears or Intereſts led them. They ſhewed her how contrary Perſecution was to the Spirit of the Goſpel, that Chriſtians tolerated *Jews*; and that *Turks*, notwithſtanding the Barbarity of their Tempers, and the Cruelty of their Religion, yet tolerated Chriſtians. They remembred her, that the firſt Law for burning in *England*, was made by *Henry* IV. as a reward to the Biſhops, who had helped him to depoſe *Richard* the Second, and ſo to mount to the Throne. They repreſented to her, that God had truſted her with the Sword, which ſhe ought to imploy for the Protection of her People,

ple, and was not to abandon them to the Cruelty of such Wolves: The Petition also turned to the Nobility, and the rest of the Nation; and the dangers of a *Spanish* Yoke, and a bloody Inquisition were set before them. Upon this, the Popish Authors writ several Books in Justification of those Proceedings. They observed that the *Jews* were commanded to put Blasphemers to Death; and said the Hereticks blasphemed the Body of Christ, and called it only a piece of Bread. It became Christians to be more zealous for the true Religion, than Heathens were for the false: St. *Peter* by a Divine Power, struck *Ananias* and *Saphira* dead. Christ, in the Parable said, *Compel them to enter in.* St. *Paul* said, *I would they were cut off that trouble you.* St. *Austin* was once against all severities in such Cases, but changed his mind, when he saw the good effects that some Banishments and Fines had on the *Donatists*: That on which they insisted most, was, the burning of *Anabaptists* in King *Edward*'s time. So they were now fortified in their Cruel Intentions, and resolved to spare none, of what Age, Sex, or Condition soever they might be. Book III 1555.

Bonner kept one *Tomkins*, a Weaver, some Months in his House, who was found to doubt of the Presence in the Sacrament, he used divers Violences to him, as the tearing out the Hair of his Beard, and the holding a Candle to his Hand, till the Veins and Sinews burst; and these not prevailing, to make him change, he was at last burnt in *Smithfield*. One *Hunter*, an Apprentice, not above XIX Years old, was condemned and burnt on the same account. *Bonner* was so much concerned to preserve him, that he offered him *Forty Pound* to change: So mercinary did he think other Mens Consciences were, measuring them probably by his own. Two Gentlemen, *Causton* and *Higbed*, one *Lawrence* a Priest, and two meaner

Book III Persons, were burnt near their own Houses in *Essex*. The Method in these, and in all the other
1555. Proceedings, during the rest of this Reign, was summary, and *ex officio:* Upon Complaints made, Persons were Imprisoned, and Articles containing the Points, for which they were suspected, were offered to them, which they were required to answer; and if their answers were Heretical, they were burnt for them, without any thing being objected to them, or proved against them. *Ferrar*, who had been Bishop of St. *Davids*, was dealt with in the same manner, by his Successor *Morgan*. When he was condemned, he appealed to Cardinal *Pool*, but that had no other effect, save, that his Execution was stopt three Weeks. *Rawlins White*, a poor Fisherman, was condemned by the Bishop of *Landaffe*, and afterwards burnt: *Marsh*, a Priest, was burnt at *Chester*; and to the ordinary Cruelty of burning, they added a new Invention of pouring melted Pitch on his Head. One *Flower*, a rash and furious Man, wounded a Priest at St. *Margarets Westminster*, as he was officiating, for which being seizing on, and found to be an Heretick, he was condemned and burnt. The fact was disapproved by all the Reformed, and he became sincerely Penitent for it, before he died. After this, for some Weeks, there was a stop put to those Severities.

The Queen restores the Church-Lands.

The Queen, about this time sent for her Treasurer, and some of the other Officers of her Revenue, and told them, that she thought her self bound in Conscience to restore all the Lands of the Church, that were then in her hands; she thought they were unlawfully acquired, and that they could not be held by her without a sin, therefore she declared she would have them disposed of, as Cardinal *Pool* should think fit. Some imputed this to a Bull set out by the *Pope*, excommunicating all that kept any Lands belonging to Abbies or Churches:

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This alarmed many in *England*, but *Gardiner* pacified them, and told them, that Bull was made only for *Germany*, and that no Bull did bind in *England*, till it was received. But this did not satisfie Inquisitive People, for a sin in *Germany*, was likewise a sin in *England*, and if the *Pope*'s authority came from Christ, it ought to take place every where equally. Book III 1555.

Marcellus chosen Pope. *Paul* the IV. succeeds.

Pope *Julius* died in *March*, and *Marcellius* was chosen to succeed him: he turned his thoughts wholly to the Reformation of abuses: He suffered none of his Nephews, nor Kindred to come to *Court*, and resolved effectually to put down Nonresidence and Pluralities: But he found it very difficult to bring about the good designs he had projected, and that the *Pope*'s Power was such, that it was more easie for him to do mischief, than good; which made him once cry out, That he did not see how any could be saved, that sat in that Chair. These things wrought so much on him, that he sickned within Twelve Days of his Election, and died Ten Days after that. Upon his death, the Queen endeavoured to engage the *French* to consent to the Promotion of Cardinal *Pool*, which she did without his knowledge or approbation: but at *Rome* they were so apprehensive of another *Pope* set on Reformations, that they made haste in their choice, and set up *Caraffa*, called *Paul* the Fourth, who was the most extravagantly ambitious and insolent *Pope*, that had reigned of a great while.

The *English* Ambassadours come to *Rome*.

On the day of his Election, the *English* Ambassadours entred *Rome* in great state, having in their Train 140. Horse of their own Attendants, but the Pope would not admit them to an Audience, till they had accepted of a Grant of the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; for he pretended it belonged only to him to confer those Titles. The

Book III 1555. Ambaſſadours, it ſeems, knew it was the Queen's mind, that they ſhould in every thing ſubmit to the Pope, and ſo took that Grant from him. Their Publick Audience was given in great Solemnity, in which the Pope declared, that in token of his pardoning the Nation, 'he had added to the Crown 'the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by that Su-'pream Power which God had given him to de-'ſtroy, or to build Kingdoms at his pleaſure. But 'in private diſcourſe, he complained much, that the '*Abbey-Lands* were not reſtored. He ſaid it was 'beyond his power to confirm Sacriledge, and all 'were obliged, under the pains of damnation, to 'reſtore to the laſt farthing, every thing that be-'longed to the Church: He ſaid likewiſe, that he 'would ſend over a Collector to gather the *Peter*-'Pence, for they could not expect that St. *Peter* 'would open Heaven to them, ſo long as they de-'nied him his rights upon Earth. Theſe were heavy tidings to the Lord *Mountacute*, (Sir *Anthony Brown*) whoſe Eſtate conſiſted chiefly of *Abbey-Lands*, that was one of the Ambaſſadours. But the Pope would endure no contradiction, and repeated this every time they came to him.

The *Engliſh* grow backward in the Perſecution.

In *England*, Orders were ſent to the Juſtices to look narrowly to the Preachers of Hereſy, and to have ſecret Spies in every Pariſh, for giving them Information of all Peoples behaviour. This was imputed to the ſowerneſs of *Spaniſh* Councils, and ſeemed to be taken from that baſe practice of the *Roman* Emperours, that had their Informers (or *Delatores*) that went into all Companies, and accommodated themſelves to all Men's Tempers, till they had drawn them into ſome diſcourſes againſt the State, and thereby ruined them. People grew ſo averſe to Cruelty, that *Bonner* himſelf finding how odious he was become, and obſerving the ſlackneſs of the other Biſhops, refuſed to meddle

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any further, and burnt none in five Weeks time: Upon which the Queen writ to him, and required him to do the Office of a good Paſtor, and either to reclaim the Hereticks, or to proceed againſt them according to Law: And he quickly ſhewed how ready he was to mend his pace, upon ſuch an admonition. Book III. 1555.

In the beginning of *May*, the *Court* was in expectation of the Queen's Delivery. The Envoys were named, that were to carry the good News to the neighbouring Courts: the tidings of it did fly over *England*, and *Te Deum* was ſung upon it in ſeveral Cathedrals. But it proved to be a falſe Conception, and all hopes of Iſſue by her, vaniſhed. This tended much to alienate King *Philip* from her; and he finding it more neceſſary to look after his Hereditary Crowns, than to ſtay in *England*, where he had no hopes of making himſelf Maſter, left her, and that increaſed her Melancholy. The Queens delivery in vain lookt for.

New fires were kindled. *Cardmaker*, that had been a Prebendary at *Bath*, and *Warne* a Tradeſman, were burnt in *Smithfield*, in *May*. The body of one that ſuffered for Robbery, but at his Execution ſaid ſomewhat ſavouring of Hereſy, was burnt for it. Seven were burnt in ſeveral parts of *Eſſex*. They were condemned by *Bonner*, and ſent down to be burnt near the places of their abode. The Council writ to the Great Men of the County, to gather many together, and aſſiſt at thoſe Spectacles: And when they heard that ſome had come of their own accord to the burnings at *Colcheſter*, they writ to the Lord *Rich* to give their thanks to thoſe Perſons for their Zeal, ſo dexterouſly did they ſtudy to cheriſh a ſpirit of Cruelty among the People. *Bradford*, who had been committed ſoon after he had ſaved *Bourne* in the Tumult at Saint *Paul*'s had been condemned with the reſt, More Hereticks burnt.

Book III reſt, and was preſerved till *July*. He was ſo much conſidered, that *Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*, and
1555. *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Weſton* and *Harpsfield*, with the King's Confeſſor, and *Alphonſus à Caſtro* went to ſee, if they could prevail on him, and had long Conferences with him in Priſon, but all to no purpoſe. *Bourne* was made Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and his Brother was Secretary of State; but though *Bradford* had preſerved his life, yet he neither came to viſit him, nor did he interpoſe for his life; on the contrary, it was objected to *Bradford*, that by his carriage in ſuppreſſing that Tumult, it appeared that he had ſet it on: but he appealed to God, who ſaw how unworthily they returned him evil for good: and he appealed to *Bourne*, who was ſitting among the Biſhops that judged him, if he had not prayed him for the Paſſion of Chriſt to endeavour his preſervation; and if he had not done it, at the hazard of his own life: But *Bourne*, as he was aſhamed to accuſe him, ſo he had not the honeſty, nor the courage to vindicate him: A young Apprentice was burnt with him, whom he encouraged much in his ſufferings, and in tranſports of joy, he hugged the Faggots that were laid about him. *Thornton*, *Harpsfield*, and others, ſet on a Perſecution at *Canterbury*, though Cardinal *Pool* was averſe to it, but he durſt not now diſcover ſo much; for the Pope had an inveterate hatred to him, and was reſolved upon the firſt occaſion to recal him, and for that end, he entred into a Correſpondence with *Gardiner*, who hoped thereby to have been made a Cardinal, and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: And upon the hopes he had of that, he ſtill preſerved *Cranmer*, for tho' he was now condemned for Hereſy, yet the See was not eſteemed void, till he was formally degraded. Some ſaid it was fit to begin with him, that had been the chief promoter of Hereſy

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in *England*. But *Gardiner* ſaid, it was better to try if it could be poſſible to ſhake him, for it would be a great blow to the whole Party, if he could be wrought on to forſake it; whereas if he ſhould be burnt, and ſhould dye with ſuch reſolution as others expreſſed, it would much raiſe the ſpirits of his Followers. The See of *Canturbury* was now only ſequeſtred in *Pool*'s hands, and he being afraid of falling under the Pope's rage, was willing to let the cruel Prebendaries do what they pleaſed. They burnt two Prieſts, and two Laymen at *Canterbury*, and ſent a Man and a Woman to be burnt in other places in *Kent*. Two that belonged to the Dioceſſes of *Winchester* and *Chichester* were condemned by *Bonner* and were burnt near the places of their abode. There were at this time ſeveral pretended diſcoveries of Plots both in *Dorſetſhire* and *Eſſex*: And Orders were given to draw Confeſſions from ſome that were apprehended, by torture; but the thing was let fall, for it was grounded only on the ſurmiſes of the Clergy. Book III. 1555.

The Queen was this Year rebuilding the Houſe of the *Franciſcans* at *Greenwhich*, and had recalled *Peyto* and *Elſton*, of which mention was made, *Book* 1. *pag.* 99. the one ſhe made her Confeſſor, and the other was to be Guardian of that Houſe: The People expreſſed ſuch hatred of them, that as they were paſſing upon the River, ſome threw ſtones at them: But they that did it, could not be diſcovered. Judge *Raſtall* publiſhed Sir *Thomas More*'s Works at this time; but as was formerly obſerved, he left out his Letter concerning the Nun of *Kent*; though it lies among his other Letters, in that very Manuſcript, out of which he publiſhed them. He prefixed nothing concerning *More*'s Life, to his Works, which makes it highly probable, that he never writ it: For this was the proper time and place for publiſhing it, if he had ever writ

Religious Houſes ſet up.

More's Works publiſhed.

Book III 1555. writ it. So that Manuſcript life of *Mores*, pretended to be writ by him, out of which many things have been quoted ſince that time, to the diſgrace of King *Henry*, and *Anne Boleyn*, muſt be a later forgery contrived in ſpite to Queen *Elizabeth*. 'The Queen did now go on with her Intentions, of founding Religious Houſes out of thoſe *Abbey-Lands*, that were ſtill in the Crown. She recommended it alſo to the Counceils care, that every where there might be good Preaching, and that there might be a Viſitation of the Univerſities: ſhe deſired that Juſtice might be done on the Hereticks, in ſuch a manner, that the People might be well ſatisfied about it, and preſt them to take care that there might be no Pluralities in *England*, and that the Preachers might give good Example, as well as make good Sermons.

The burnings went on: Seven were burnt in *Auguſt* in ſeveral places; ſix more were burnt in one fire at *Canturbury*, and four were burnt in other places, but the particular days are not marked. In *September* five were burnt at *Canturbury*, and ſeven in other places. In *October* two were burnt at *Ely*, by *Shaxtou*'s means, who now compleated his Apoſtaſie by his Cruelty. The *16th* of that Month became remarkable by the ſufferings of *Ridley* and *Latimer*. Three Biſhops, *Lincoln*, *Glouceſter* and *Briſtol* were ſent with a Commiſſion from Cardinal *Pool*, to proceed againſt them. *Ridley* ſaid he payed great reſpect to *Pool* as he was of the Royal Family, and eſteemed him much for his Learning and Vertues, but as he was the Pope's Legate, he would expreſs no reverence to him, nor would uncover himſelf before any that acted by Authority from him. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* exhorted him, 'To return to the obedience of the See 'of St. *Peter*, on whom Chriſt had founded his 'Church,

Ridley and *Latimer* are burnt.

'Church, to which the Ancient Fathers had sub- Book III
'mitted, and which himself had once acknow-
'ledged: He began his answer with a Protestati- 1555.
'on, that he did not thereby submit to the Au-
'thority of the Pope or his Legate; he said
'Christ had founded his Church, not on St.
'*Peter*, but on the Faith which he had con-
'fessed: The Bishops of *Rome* had been held
'in great esteem, but that was either on the
'account of their personal worth, or by rea-
'son of the dignity of the City: He con-
'fessed he had once been involved in that Superstiti-
'tion; but St. *Paul* was once a Blasphemer: And
'he had discovered such Errors in that See, that he
'would never acknowledge it any more. *Latimer* adhered to what he said. A Night's respite was granted them, but they continuing stedfast next Day, they were condemned as obstinate Hereticks, and delivered to the Secular Arm, and the Writs were sent down for their burning. They prepared themselves for it with such Patience and Cheerfulness as very much amazed their Keepers: As they were led out, they lookt up to *Cranmer*'s Window, but he was not in it, for he was then held in Dispute by some Friers; yet he lookt after them, with a very tender sense of their Condition, and prayed earnestly to God to assist them in their Sufferings. When they came to the Stake they embraced and encouraged one another. *Smith* preached on those words, *If I give my Body to be burnt, and have not Charity, it profiteth nothing*: And he compared their dying for Heresy, to *Judas*'s that hanged himself. *Ridley* desired leave to answer some Points in his Sermon; but it was told him, that he was not to be suffered to speak, except he intended to recant: So he turned himself to God, when he saw Men were resolved to be so unreasonable to him. He sent a desire to the Queen, in behalf of the Tennats of the Bishoprick of *London*, from whom

Book III whom he had taken Fines, for which he had renewed their Leaſes; and prayed that either their Leaſes
1555. might be confirmed, or that their Fines might be reſtored out of his Goods, which had been ſeized on when he was firſt put in Priſon: After both had prayed, and undreſſed themſelves, the Fire was kindled. Some Gun-powder was hanged about their Necks, and that being fired, put *Latimer* quickly out of his Pain; but *Ridley* had a more lingring Torment: for they threw on ſo much Wood that it was long before the flame broke through it; and his Legs were almoſt wholly conſumed before the flame choaked him. Thus did theſe two Biſhops end their Days and their Miniſtry: The one was eſteemed to be the ableſt of all that advanced the Reformation, both for Piety, Learning, and Solidity of Judgment; the other was looked on as a truly Primitive Biſhop, that ſeemed to have more of the ſimplicity of the firſt Ages, than the politeneſs, or the learning of later Times. *Ridley* was ill rewarded both by *Bonner* and *Heath*; he had uſed *Bonner*'s Mother and Friends with great kindneſs, while he was Biſhop of *London*; and had kept the latter a Year and a half in his Houſe, after he fell in trouble, but he made him ill returns; and when he went through *Oxford*, he did not ſo much as viſit him: and ſo far had Men been taught to put off all humanity, that during their Impriſonment in *Oxford*, none of the Univerſity either came to viſit them or took care to relieve their neceſſities.

Gardiner's Death. It was obſerved that *Gardiner* was very impatient to have thoſe Biſhops burnt, and delayed his Dinner that Day till the news ſhould be brought him, that the Fire was kindled: But at Dinner he was taken with an illneſs, which turned to a ſuppreſſion of Urine, of which he died the twelfth of *November*. He went twice to the Parliament which was opened the twenty firſt of *October*, but could go abroad

abroad no more; he expreſſed great ſorrow for his former ſins, and often ſaid, *He had erred with St. Peter, but had not repented with him.* He was believed to be of noble extraction, tho' baſely born; for his true Father was ſuppoſed to be *Richard Woodvill*, that was Brother to *Edward* the Fourth's Queen, Grandmother to King *Henry* the Eighth: And this was believed to be the occaſion of his ſudden Preferment to the See of *Wincheſter*. So thoſe that reflected on him for his oppoſition to the Married State, ſaid, that no wonder if Perſons baſely born, as both *He* and *Bonner* were, had no regard to that State of Life. He was learned in the Civil and Canon-Law; he had a good *Latin* Stile, and had ſome knowledge in the *Greek* Tongue, but was a very indifferent Divine: He had a quickneſs of Apprehenſion, with a great knowledge of Mankind, and the Intrigues of Courts: He had all the Arts of Inſinuation and Flattery, and was inferiour to none in profound Diſſimulation. He died now when he had the proſpect of a Cardinal's Hat, and of all the Honours which a Pope, that found him after his own heart, could do him. *Heath* was made Chancellour during pleaſure, and the Queen gave to the See of *York*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Houſe, fallen to her by his Attainder, in recompence for *White-hall*, and it was afterwards called *York-Houſe*.

Book III. 1555.

The Parliament was now aſſembled, and it appeared that the Nation was much turned in their Affections. It was propoſed to give the Queen a Subſidy, and two Fifteenths. This was the firſt Aid that the Queen had asked, though ſhe was now in the third Year of her Reign; and what was now deſired, was no more than what ſhe might have exacted at her firſt coming to the Crown; and ſince ſhe had forgiven ſo much at her Coronation, it ſeemed unreaſonable to deny it now: Yet great oppoſition was made to it. Many ſaid, the Queen was

The Parliament ill pleaſed with the Queen's Conduct.

Book III 1555. was impoverishing the Crown, and giving away the *Abbey-Lands*, and therefore she ought to be supplied by the Clergy, and not turn to the Laity: But it was answered, that the Convocation had given her 6 *s.* in the Pound, but that would not serve her present Occasions; so the Debate grew high: But to prevent further Heats the Queen sent a Message, declaring that she would accept the Subsidy without the Fifteenths, and upon that it was granted. The Queen sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him, she could not with a good Conscience exact the Tenths and First-fruits of the Clergy, since they were given to her Father to support his unlawful Dignity, of being the *Supream Head of the Church*: She also thought, that all Tythes and Impropriations were the Patrimony of the Church, and therefore was resolved to resign such of them as were in her Hands. The former part past easily in the House, but great oppositon was made to the latter part of her motion: For it was lookt on as a step to the taking all the Impropriations out of the Hands of the Laity; yet upon a division of the House, it went so near, that 126 were against it, and 193 were for it, so it was carried by 67 Voices. A Bill was put in against the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, and several others that favoured the Reformation, and had gone beyond Sea that they might freely enjoy their Consciences; requiring them to return, under severe Penalties: The Lords past it, but the Commons threw it out; for they began now to repent of the severe Laws they had already consented to, and resolved to add no more. They also rejected another Bill, for incapacitating some to be Justices of Peace, who were complained of for their remisness in prosecuting Hereticks. An Act was put in for debarring one *Bennet Smith*, who had hired some Assassinates to commit a most detestable Murder, from the bene-

fit

fit of Clergy; which by the course of the Common-Law, would have saved him. This was an invention of the Priests, that if any, who was capable of entring into Orders, and had not been twice married, or had not married a Widow, could read, and vowed to take Orders, he was to be saved in many criminal cases. And it was looked on as a part of the Ecclesiastical Immunity; which made divers of the Bishops oppose this Act; Yet it past, though four of them, and five Temporal Lords protested against it. There was such heat in the House of Commons in this Parliament, that one Sir *Anthony Kingston*, who was a great stickler, called one day for the Keys of the House: but when the Parliament was dissolved, he was sent to the *Tower* for it: He was soon after set at liberty, but next year he and six others were accused of a design of robbing the Exchequer: He died before he was brought up to *London*; the other six were hanged; but the Evidence against them does not appear on Record. Book III 1555.

Cardinal *Pool* called a Convocation, having first procured a Licence from the Queen, impowering them both to meet, and to make such Canons as they should think fit. This was done to preserve the prerogatives of the Crown, and to secure the Clergy, that they might not be afterwards brought under a *Præmunire*. In it several Decrees were proposed by *Pool*, and assented to by the Clergy: 1. For observing the Feast of the Reconciliation made with *Rome*, with great solemnity: They also condemned all Heretical Books, and received that Exposition of the Faith which Pope *Eugenius* sent from the Council of *Florence* to the *Armenians*. 2. For the decent Administration of the Sacraments, and putting down the yearly Feasts in the dedications of Churches. 3. They required all Bishops and Priests to lay aside Secular cares, and to give themselves *Pool's* decrees for the Reformation of the Clergy.

Book III selves wholly to the Paſtoral Charge: And all Plu-
raliſts were required to reſign all their Benefices
1555. except one, within two months, otherwiſe to for-
feit all. 4. Biſhops were required to preach of-
ten, and to provide good Preachers for their Dio-
ceſes, to go over them as their Viſitors. 5. All the
Pomp and Luxury of the Tables, Servants, and Fa-
milies of the Biſhops was condemned; and they
were required chiefly to lay out their Revenues on
works of Charity. 6. They were required not to
give Orders, but after a long and ſtrict Trial; which
they ought to make themſelves, and not to turn it
over to others. 7. They were charged not to be-
ſtow Benefices upon partial regards, but to confer
them on the moſt deſerving, and to take them
bound by Oath, to reſide upon them. 8. Againſt
giving Advowſons before Benefices fell vacant. 9. A-
gainſt Symony. 10. Againſt Dilapidations. 11. For
Seminaries in every Cathedral for the Dioceſs; and
the Clergy were taxed in a fourth part of their Be-
nefices for their maintenance. The twelfth was a-
bout Viſitations.

It was deſigned alſo to ſet out four Books of
Homilies: The firſt for Points of Controverſie;
the ſecond was for the expoſition of the Creed, the
Lords Prayer the ten Commandments, the *Ave*, and
the Sacraments: The third was to be a Paraphraſe
on all the Leſſons on Holy-days; and the fourth
was to be concerning the ſeveral Vertues and Vices,
and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. In
theſe, the wiſe and good Temper of Cardinal *Pool*
may be well diſcerned. He thought the People
were more wrought on by the ſcandals they ſaw
in the Clergy, than by the Arguments which they
heard from the Reformers; and therefore he rec-
koned if Pluralities and Non-reſidences, and the
other abuſes of Church-men could have been re-
moved, and if he could have brought the Biſhops,

to

to have lived better, and laboured more, to be stricter in giving Orders, and more impartial in conferring Benefices, and if he could have established Seminaries in Cathedrals, Heresy might have been drive nout of the Nation by gentler methods than by Racks and Fires: In one thing he shewed the meanness of his Spirit, that though he himself condemned cruel proceedings against Hereticks, yet he both gave Commissions to other Bishops and Arch-Deacons to try them, and suffered a great deal of Cruelty to be exercised in his own Dioceſs; but he had not courage enough to resist Pope *Paul* the Fourth, who thought of no other way for bearing down Heresy, but by setting up Courts of Inquisition every where. He had clapt up Cardinal *Morone*, that was *Pool*'s great Friend, in Prison, upon suspicion of Heresy; and would very probably have used himself so, if he had got him at *Rome*. Book III 1555.

He refuses to bring the *Jesuits* to *England*.

The *Jesuits* were at this time beginning to grow considerable: They were tied, besides their other Vows, to an absolute obedience to the See of *Rome*: And set themselves every where to open Free-Schools, for the education of youth, and to bear down Heresy. They were excused from the Hours of the Quire, and so were looked on as a mungrel Order between the Regulars and the Seculars. They proposed to Cardinal *Pool*, that since the Queen was restoring the *Abbey-Lands*, it would be to little purpose to give them again to the *Benedictine* Order, which was now rather a clog than a help to the Church: And therefore they desired that Houses might be assigned to them, for maintaining Schools and Seminaries; and they did not doubt but they should quickly both drive out Heresy, and recover the Church-Lands. *Pool* did not listen to this, for which he was much censured by the Fathers of that Society. It is not certain whether he had then the sagacity to foresee that disorder which they were

Book III like to bring into the Government of the Church, and that corruption of Morals that hath ſince flowed from their Schools, and has been infuſed by them generally in Confeſſions, ſo that their whole Church is now over-run with it. Three were burnt at one Stake in *Canterbury* in *November*, and *Philpot* was burnt in *Smithfield*, in *December*: He had been put in Priſon, ſoon after that Convocation was diſſolved, in which he had diſputed in the beginning of this Reign: And was now brought out to the Stake. In all, ſixty ſeven were burnt this Year, of whom Four were Biſhops, and Thirteen were Prieſts.

1555.

More of the Reformed are burnt.

Affairs in *Germany*.

In *Germany*, a Diet was held, in which it was left free to all the Temporal Princes, to ſet up what Religion they pleaſed; but a reſtraint was put on the Eccleſiaſtical Princes. Both *Ferdinand*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, appointed the Chalice to be given to the Laity in their Dominions, at which the Pope ſtormed highly, and threatned to depoſe them: for that was his common ſtile, when he was diſpleaſed with any Prince. The Reſignation of *Charles* the Fifth, which was begun this Year, and compleated the next, drew the Eyes of all *Europe* upon it. He had enjoyed his Hereditary Dominions Forty Years, and the Empire Thirty ſix. He had endured great Fatigues, by the many Journies he had made; Nine into *Germany*, ſix into *Spain*, ſeven into *Italy*, four through *France*: He was ten times in the *Netherlands*, made two Expeditions to *Africk*, and twice in *England*; and had croſſed the Sea eleven times. He had unuſual ſucceſs in his Wars, he had taken a Pope, a King of *France*, and ſome *German* Princes, Priſoners: And had a vaſt acceſſion of Wealth and Empire from the *Weſt-Indies*: But now as ſucceſs followed him no more, ſo he was much afflicted with the Gout, and grew to be much out of love with the Pomp and Vani-

Charles the fifth's Reſignation.

ties

ties of this World, and ſo ſeriouſly to prepare for another Life. He reſigned all his Dominions with a greatneſs of Mind, that was much ſuperior to all his other Conqueſts. He retired to a private Lodge of ſeven Rooms, that he had ordered to be built for him in the Confines of *Portugal*: He kept only twelve Servants to wait upon him, and reſerved for his Expence *One hundred thouſand Crowns* Penſion. In this retreat he lived two Years: His firſt Year was ſpent chiefly in Mechanical Inventions, in which he took great pleaſure: From that he turned to the Cultivating his Garden, in which he uſed to work with thoſe Hands, that now preferred the Grafting and Pruning Tools, to Scepters and Swords. But after that he addicted himſelf more to Study and Devotion, and did often Diſcipline himſelf with a Cord. It was alſo believed, that in many Points he came to be of the Opinion of the Proteſtants before he died. His Confeſſor was ſoon after his Death burnt for Hereſy, and *Miranda*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, that converſed much with him at this time, was clapt into Priſon on the ſame Suſpicions. At the end of two Years he died, having given a great Inſtance of a Mind ſurfeited with the Glories of this World, that ſought for quiet in a private Cell, which it had long in vain ſearched after in Palaces and Camps.

Book III 1555.

In *March* next Year, came on *Cranmer*'s Martyrdom. In *September* laſt, *Brooks*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, came down with Authority from Cardinal *Pool*, to judge him; with him two Delegates came to aſſiſt him in the King and Queen's Name. When he was brought before them, he payed the reſpect that was due to thoſe that ſat in the King and Queen's Name, 'but 'would ſhew none to *Brooks*, ſince he ſat there by 'an Authority derived from the Pope, which he 'ſaid, he would never acknowledge. He could 'not ſerve two Maſters, and ſince he had Sworn Allegiance

1556. *Cranmer's Sufferings.*

Book III 'giance to the Crown, he could never ſubmit to the 'Pope's Authority: He alſo ſhewed that the Pope's
1556. 'Power had been as unjuſtly uſed, as it was ill-grounded: That they had changed the Laws ſet-'led by Chriſt, which he inſtanced in denying the 'Chalice; in the Worſhip in an unknown Tongue; 'and in their Pretences to a Power to Depoſe 'Princes: He remembred *Brooks*, that he had 'Sworn to maintain the King's Supremacy; and 'when he ſtudied to caſt that back on him, as an 'invention of his, he told him, that it was ac-'knowledged in his Predeceſſor *Warham*'s time, and 'that *Brooks* had then ſet his Hand to it. *Brooks*, and the two Delegates, *Martin* and *Scory*, objected many things to him, as, That he had flattered King *Henry*, that ſo he might be preferred by him; and that he had condemned *Lambert* for denying the Preſence in the Sacrament, and had been afterwards guilty of the ſame Hereſy himſelf. But he vindicated himſelf from all aſpirings to the See of *Canterbury*, which appeared viſibly by the ſlowneſs of his Motions, when he was called over out of *Germany*, to be advanced to it: For he was Seven Weeks on his Journey. He confeſſed, he had changed his Opinion in the matter of the Sacrament, and acknowledged that he had been twice Married; which he thought was free to all Men, and was certainly much better than to defile other Mens Wives. After much Diſcourſe had paſt on both ſides, *Brooks* required him to appear before the Pope within Eighty Days, and anſwer to the things that ſhould be objected to him: He ſaid, he would do it moſt willingly, but he could not poſſibly go, if he were ſtill kept a Priſoner.

14 *Feb.* In *February* this Year, *Bonner* and *Thirleby* were ſent to degrade him, for his Contumacy in not going to *Rome*, when he was all the while kept in Priſon: He was clothed with all the Pontifical

Robes

Robes made of Canvas, and then they were taken from him, according to the Ceremony of Degradation, in which *Bonner* carried himself with all the Insolence that might have been expected from him: *Thirleby* was a good-natured Man, and had been *Cranmer*'s particular Friend, and performed his part in this Ceremony, with great expressions of Sorrow, and shed many Tears at it. In all this *Cranmer* seemed very little concerned; he said, it was gross Injustice to condemn him for not going to *Rome*, when he was shut up in Prison; but he was not sorry to be thus cut off, even with all this Pageantry, from any relation to that Church; He denied the Pope had any Authority over him, so he appealed from his Sentence to a Free General Council. Book III 1556.

He recants.

But now many Engines were set on work, to make him recant: Both *English* and *Spanish* Divines had many Conferences with him, and great hopes were given him, not only of Life, but of Preferment, if he would do it: And these at last had a fatal effect upon him; for he signed a Recantation of all his former Opinions, and concluded it with a Protestation, that he had done it freely, only for the discharge of his Conscience. But the Queen was resolved to make him a Sacrifice to her Resentments; she said, it was good for his own Soul that he repented, but since he had been the chief Spreader of Heresy over the Nation, it was necessary to make him a publick Example: So the Writ was sent down to burn him, and after some stop had been made in the execution of it, new Orders came for doing it suddenly. This was kept from *Cranmer*'s knowledge, for they intended to carry him to the Stake, without giving him any notice, and so hoped to make him die in Despair: Yet he suspecting somewhat, writ a long Paper, containing a

Book III Confession of his Faith, such as his Conscience, and not his Fears had dictated.

1556. He was on the 21*th* of *March* carried to St. *Maries*, where Dr. *Cole* preached; and vindicated the Queen's Justice, in condemning *Cranmer*; but magnified his Conversion much, and ascribed it wholly to the workings of God's Spirit: He gave him great hopes of Heaven, and promised him all the relief that Dirges and Masses could give him in another state. All this while *Cranmer* was observed to be in great Confusion, and Floods of Tears run from his Eyes; at last, when he was called on to speak, he began with a Prayer, in which he expressed much inward remorse and horrour: Then after he had exhorted the People to good Life, Obedience and Charity, he in most pathetick Expressions confessed his Sin, that the hopes of Life had made him sign a Paper contrary to the Truth, and against his Conscience: And he had therefore resolved, that the Hand that signed it should be burnt first; he also declared, that he had the same belief concerning the Sacrament, which he had published in the Book he writ about it. Upon this, there was a great Consternation on the whole Assembly, but they resolved to make an end of him suddenly; so without suffering him to go further, they hurried him away to the Stake, and gave him all the Disturbance they could, by their Reproaches and Clamours: But he made them no answer, having now turned his Thoughts wholly towards God. When the Fire was kindled, he held his Right Hand towards the Flame, till it was consumed, and often said, *that unworthy Hand*; he was soon after quite burnt, only his Heart was found entire among the Ashes: from which his Friends made this Inference, that though his Hand had erred, yet it appeared his Heart had continued true. They did not make a Miracle of it, though they said the Papists would have

He repents, and is burnt.

have made a great matter of it, if such a thing had fallen out in any that had dyed for their Religion. Book III

Thus did *Thomas Cranmer* end his Days, in the LXVII. Year of his Age: He was a Man of great Candor, and a firm Friend, which appeared signally in the Misfortunes of *Anne Bolleyn*, *Cromwell*, and the Duke of *Somerset*: He rather excelled in great Industry and good Judgment, than in a quickness of Apprehension, or a closeness of Style. He bestowed his Revenues on good and charitable Uses; and in his Table he was truly Hospitable, for he entertained great numbers of his poor Neighbours often at it. The Gentleness and Humility of his Deportment were very singular: His last fall was the greatest blemish of his Life, yet that was expiated by a sincere Repentance, and a patient Martyrdom: And those that compared Antient and Modern Times, did not stick to compare him, not only to the *Chrysostomes*, the *Ambroses*, and the *Austins*, that were the chief Glories of the Church, in the fourth and fifth Centuries, but to those of the first Ages, that immediately followed the Apostles, and came neareſt to the Patterns which they had left the World; to the *Ignatius*'s, the *Polycarps*, and the *Cyprians*. And it seemed necessary that the Reformation of the Church, being the restoring of the Primitive and Apostolical Doctrine, should have been chiefly carryed on by a Man thus eminent for Primitive and Apostolical Virtues. In *January*, five Men, and two Women were burnt at one Stake in *Smithfield*: And one Man and four Women were burnt at *Canterbury*. In *March*, two Women were burnt at *Ipswich*, and three Men at *Salisbury*. In *April*, six men of *Essex* were burnt in *Smithfield*: A Man and Woman were burnt at *Rochester*, and another at *Canterbury*: And six, who were sent from *Colchester*, were condemned by *Bonner*, without giving them longer time to consider whether they would recant,

1556.

His Character.

More burnings.

Book III recant, than till the Afternoon: For he was now ſo hardened in his Cruelty, that he grew weary of keeping his Priſoners ſome time, and of taking pains on them, to make them recant; he ſent them back to *Colcheſter*, where they were burnt: He condemned alſo a blind Man, and an aged Cripple, and they were both burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford*. In *May*, three Women were burnt in *Smithfield*; the Day after that, two were burnt at *Glouceſter*, one of them being blind. Three were burnt at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*; five were burnt at *Lewis*, and one at *Leiceſter*. But on the 27*th* of *June*, *Bonner* gave the ſignalleſt Inſtance of his Cruelty, that *Englaud* ever ſaw: For 11 Men, and two Women were burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford*. The horror of this Action, it ſeems, had ſome operation on himſelf; for he burnt none till *April* next Year. In *June* three were burnt at St. *Edmondsbury*, and three were afterwards burnt at *Newbury*. This Cruelty was not kept within *England*, but it extended as far as to the adjacent Iſlands. In *Guernſey*, a Mother and her two Daughters were burnt at the ſame Stake; one of them was a married Woman, and big with Child: The violence of the Fire burſting her Belly, the Child that proved to be a Boy, fell out into the Flame: He was ſnatched out of it, by one that was more merciful than the reſt: But the other Barbarous Spectators, after a little Conſultation, threw it back again into the Fire. This was Murder without queſtion, for no Sentence againſt the Mother could excuſe this Inhuman piece of Butchery, which was thought the more odious, becauſe the Dean of *Guernſey* was a Complice in it: Yet ſo merciful was the Government under Queen *Elizabeth*, that he, and Nine others, that were accuſed for it, had their Pardons. Two were after this, burnt at *Greenſtead*, and a blind Woman at *Derby*: Four were burnt at *Briſtol*, and as many at *Mayfield*

1556.

field in *Suſſex*, and one at *Nottingham*; ſo that in all LXXXV were this Year burnt, without any regard had, either to Age, or Sex, to young or old, or the Lame and the Blind; which raiſed ſo extreme an averſion in this Nation to that Religion, that it is no wonder if the apprehenſions of being again brought under ſo Tyrannical a Yoke, break out into moſt Violent and Convulſive Symptoms. Book III 1556.

By theſe means the Reformation was ſo far from being extinguiſhed, that it ſpread daily more and more, and the Zeal of thoſe that profeſſed it grew quicker. They had frequent Meetings, and ſeveral Teachers that inſtructed them: And their Friends that went beyond Sea, and ſetled in *Strasburg*, *Francfort*, *Embden*, and ſome other places in *Germany*, took care to ſend over many Books for their Inſtruction and Comfort. The Reformed increaſe upon this.

An unhappy difference was begun at *Francfort*, which has had ſince that time great and fatal Conſequences; ſome of the *Engliſh* thought it was better to uſe a Liturgy, agreeing with the *Geneva* forms; whereas the reſt thought, that ſince they were a part of the Church of *England* that fled thither, they ought to adhere to the *Engliſh* Liturgy; and that the rather, ſince thoſe who had compiled it, were now ſealing it with their Blood. This raiſed much heat, but Doctor *Cox* that lived in *Strasburg*, being held in great eſteem, went thither, and procured an Order from the Senate, That the *Engliſh* ſhould continue to uſe the forms of their own Church; but the fire was not thereby quenched, for *Knox*, and ſome other hot Spirits, began to make exceptions to ſome parts of the Liturgy; and got *Calvin* to declare on their ſide: Upon which ſome of them retired to *Geneva*. Another conteſt aroſe concerning the cenſuring of Offenders, which ſome ſaid belonged only to the Miniſter, The troubles at *Francfort*.

Book III 1556. ſter, and others thought that the Congregation ought to be admitted to a ſhare in it. Great animoſities were raiſed by theſe debates, which gave ſcandal to the ſtrangers, among whom they lived, and many reflected on the Schiſms of the *Novatians* and *Donatiſts*, that rent the Churches of *Africk*; the one during the Perſecutions, and the other immediately after they were over.

Pool made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

In *England*, *Pool* was Conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the day after *Cranmer* was burnt; which gave occaſion to many to apply the words of *Elijah* to him, *Thou haſt killed and taken poſſeſſion*: A week after that he came into *London* in great ſtate, and had the Pall put about him, by *Heath* in *Bow*-Church: And after that, he made a cold Sermon concerning the Beginning, the Uſe and Virtues of the Pall: Without either Learning or Eloquence: For it was obſerved, that he had ſo far changed his ſtile, which in his youth was too luxuriant, that it was now become flat, and had neither Life nor Beauty in it. The Pall was a device of the Popes, in the 12*th* Century, in which they began firſt to ſend thoſe Cloaks to Archbiſhops, as a Badge of their being the Pope's *Legates born*.

More Religious Houſes.

The Queen had founded a Houſe for the *Franciſcans* of the *Obſervance* in *Greenwhich* laſt Year: This Year ſhe founded Houſes for the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* in *London*, as alſo a Houſe for the *Carthuſians* at *Sheen*, and a Nunnery at *Sion*: She alſo converted the Church of *Weſtminſter*, into an *Abbey*. And that way might be made to the reſtoring Religious Orders, ſhe took care to have all the Reports, Confeſſions, and other Records, that tended to the diſhonour of their Houſes, be raſed: So that no Memory might remain of them to the next Age. For this end ſhe gave a Commiſſion to *Bonner*, and others, to ſearch all Regiſters, and to take out of them

them every thing, that was either againſt the See of *Rome*, or the Religious Houſes: And they executed this Commiſſion ſo carefully, that the ſteps of it appear in the defectiveneſs of all the Records of that time: Yet many things have eſcaped their diligence. This Expurgation of theirs was compared to the rage of the Heathens in the laſt Perſecution, who deſtroyed all the Books and Regiſters, that they could find, among the Chriſtians. The *Monks* of *Glaſſenbury*, were in hope to have got their Houſe, that had been dedicated to the honour of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, raiſed again: They deſired only the Houſe, and a little Land about it; which they reſolved to Cultivate, and did not doubt but the People of the Country would contribute towards their ſubſiſtence: And it is probable that the like deſigns were ſet on foot for the other Houſes: And it was not to be doubted, but that as ſoon as they had again infuſed in the Nation the belief of Purgatory, they would have perſwaded thoſe that held their Lands, eſpecially if they could come near them when they were dying, to deliver themſelves from the ſin and puniſhments of Sacrilege, by making reſtitution. It is true, the Nobility, and Gentry were much alarmed at theſe proceedings; and at the laſt Parliament, many in the Houſe of Commons laid their Hands on their Swords, and declared that they would not part with their Eſtates, but would defend them. Yet all that intended to gain favour at *Court*, made their way to it, by founding Chantries for Maſſes, to be ſaid for them and their Anceſtors; and took out Licences from the Queen, for making thoſe Endowments. Book III 1556.

A Truce was now concluded betwcen *France* and *Spain* for five Years: But the violent Pope broke it. He was offended at the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and chiefly at *Ferdinand*'s aſſuming the Title of *Emperour*, without his conſent; he uſed to ſay, *That all Kingdoms* The Pope ſets on a War betweenFrance and Spain.

Book III 1556. *doms were ſubject to him: That he would ſuffer no Prince to be too familiar with him: And that he would ſet the World on fire, rather than be driven to do any thing below his Dignity.* He pretended that he had reformed the abuſes of his own Court, and that he would in the next place reform all the abuſes that were in other Courts, of which he ordered a great Collection to be made: When he was preſt to call a Council, he ſaid, *He needed none; for he himſelf was above all*; and the World had already ſeen twice, to how little purpoſe it was to ſend about Sixty weak Biſhops, and Forty Divines, that were not the moſt learned, to *Trent:* He reſolved it ſhould never meet there any more; but he would call one to ſit in the *Lateran:* He ſignified this to the Ambaſſadours of Princes, only in courteſie: For he would ask advice of none of them, but would be obeyed by them all: And if Princes would ſend none of their Prelates thither, he would hold a Council without them, and would let the World ſee, what a Pope, that had courage, could do. This imperious humour of his, made him talk ſometimes like a Mad-man: He intended, as was believed, to raiſe his Nephew to be King of *Naples*, and in order to that, he ſent one of his Nephews to *France*, to abſolve the King from the Truce which he had ſworn: And promiſed to create what Cardinals that King would nominate, if he would make War on *Spain*; though to the Queen's Ambaſſadours and all others at *Rome*, he gave it out, that he would mediate a Peace between the Crowns; for a Truce did not ſufficiently ſecure the quiet of *Europe*. The *French* King was too eaſily perſwaded by the Inſtigation of the Pope, and the Houſe of *Guize*, to break his Faith, and begin the War. The Pope alſo began it in *Italy*, and put the Cardinals of the *Spaniſh* Faction in Priſon, and threatned to proceed to Cenſures againſt King *Philip*, for protecting the *Colonneſi*,

Colonneſi, who were his particular Enemies. He made ſome Levies among the *Griſons*, that were Hereticks; but ſaid, he lookt on them as Angels of God, and was confident God would convert them. The Duke of *Alva* had that Reverence for the Papacy, that he took Arms againſt the Pope very unwillingly: He could have taken *Rome*, but would not: And for the places that he took, he declared he would deliver them up to the next Pope. It gave great ſcandal to the World, to ſee the Pope ſet on ſo perfidious a breach of Truce; and it was thought ſtrange, that in the ſame Year, a Great Prince in the 56*th* Year of his Age, ſhould retire to a Monaſtery; and that one bred a Monk, and 80 Years old, ſhould ſet *Europe* in a Flame. Book III 1556.

The next Year *Pool* ſent *Ormaneto* with ſome *Engliſh* Divines, to viſit *Cambridge*. They put the Churches, in which the Bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius* lay under an Interdict. They made a Viſitation of all the Colleges and Chappels, in which *Ormaneto* ſhewed great Integrity; and without reſpect of Perſons, he chid ſome Heads of Houſes, whom he found guilty of miſapplying the Revenues of their Houſes. The two dead Bodies were burnt with great Solemnity: They were raiſed and cited to appear, and anſwer for the Hereſies they had taught, and if any would anſwer for them, they were required to come. The Dead ſaid nothing for themſelves; and the Living were afraid to do it, for fear of being ſent after them; ſo Witneſſes were examined, and in concluſion, they were condemned as obſtinate Hereticks, and the dead Bodies, with many Heretical Books, were all burnt in one Fire, *Perne* was Vice-Chancellour at this time, and happened to be in the ſame Office four Years after, when, by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Order publick Honours were done to the Memory of theſe Learned Men, and he obeyed both theſe Orders with ſo much zeal, that 1557. A Viſitation of the Univerſities.

Book III that it appeared how exactly he had learned the Les-
son, so much studied in that Age, of serving the
1557. time. After this there was a Visitation of all the Colleges in *Oxford*, and there it was intended to act such Pageantry on the Body of *Peter Martyr*'s Wife, as had been done at *Cambridge*. But she that could speak no *English*, had not declared her Opinions, so that no Witnesses could be found to convict her of Heresy: Yet since it was notoriously known, that she had been a Nun, and had broken her Vow of Chastity, they raised her Body, and buried it in a Dunghil: But her Bones were afterwards mixed with St. *Frideswide*'s, by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Order.

A severe Inquisition of Hereticks.

The Justices of Peace were now every where so slack in the Prosecution of Hereticks, that it seemed necessary to find out other Tools. So the Courts of Inquisition were thought on. These were set up first in *France* against the *Albigenses*, and afterwards in *Spain*, for discovering the *Moors*; and were now turned upon the Hereticks. Their Power was uncontroulable, they seized on any they pleased, upon such Informations, or Presumptions, as lay before them. They managed their Processes in secret, and put their Prisoners to such sorts of Torture, as they thought fit for extorting Confessions or Discoveries from them. At this time both the Pope and King *Philip*, though they differed in other things, agreed in this, that these were the only sure means for extirpating Heresy. 'So, as a step to 'the setting them up, a Commission was given to '*Bonner* and twenty more, the greatest part Lay-'men, to search all over *England* for all suspected of 'Heresy, that did not hear Mass, go in Processions, 'or did not take Holy-bread, or Holy-water; they 'were authorized, three being a *Quorum*, to pro-'ceed either by Presentments, or other Politick 'ways; they were to deliver all they discovered to 'their Ordinaries; and were to use all such means

'as

'as they could invent; which was left to their dis- Book III
'cretions and Conſciences, for executing their Com-
'miſſion. Many other Commiſſions ſubalterne to 1557.
theirs, were iſſued out for ſeveral Counties and Dioceſſes. This was looked on as ſuch an advance towards an Inquiſition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The burnings were carried on vigorouſly in ſome places, and but coldly in moſt parts, for the diſlike of them grew to be almoſt Univerſal.

In *January*, ſix were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*, and four in other parts of *Kent*: 22 were ſent out of *Colcheſter* to *Bonner*; but it ſeems *Pool* had chid him ſeverely for the Fire he had made of thirteen the laſt Year; ſo he writ to *Pool* for directions. The Cardinal imployed ſome to deal with the Priſoners, and they got them to ſign a Paper in general words, acknowledging 'that Chriſt's 'Body was in the Sacrament; and declaring that 'they would be ſubject to the Church of Chriſt, 'and to their lawful Superiours. And upon this they were ſet at liberty; by which it appeared that *Pool* was willing to have accepted any thing, by which he might on the one hand preſerve the lives of thoſe that were informed againſt, and yet not be expoſed to the rage of the Pope, as a favourer of Hereticks. In *April*, three Men, and one Woman were burnt in *Smithfield*: In *May*, three were burnt in *Southwark*, condemned by *White* the new Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and three at *Briſtol*. Five Men and nine Women were burnt in *Kent*, in *June*: And in the ſame Month, ſix Men and four Women were burnt at *Lewis*. In *July*, two were burnt at *Norwich*; and in *Auguſt*, ten were burnt in one day at *Colcheſter*. They were ſome of thoſe 22. that were by *Pool*'s means diſcharged: But the Cruel Prieſts informed againſt them, and ſaid, the favour ſhewed to them, had ſo encouraged all others, that it

More burnings.

Book III 1557. was neceſſary to remove the ſcandal, which that mercy of the Cardinal's gave, and to make Examples of ſome of them. In *Auguſt*, one was burnt at *Norwich*, two at *Rocheſter*, and one at *Litchfield*. One *Eagle*, that went much about from place to place, from which he was called *Trudge-over*, was condemned as a Traytor, for ſome words ſpoken againſt the Queen: But all this Cruelty did not ſatisfie the Clergy, they complained that the Magiſtrates were backward, and did their Duty very negligently: Upon which ſevere Letters were written to ſeveral Towns, from the Council-board: And zealous Men were recommended to be choſen Mayors in ſundry Towns. In *September* three Men and one Woman were burnt at *Iſlington*, and two at *Colcheſter*; one at *Northampton*, and one at *Laxefield*: A Woman was burnt at *Norwich*: A Prieſt with thirteen other Men and three Women, were burnt at *Chicheſter*. In *November*, three were burnt in *Smithfield*; *Rough* a Scotchman that had a Benefice in King *Edward*'s time, kept a private Meeting at *Iſlington*: But one of the company being corrupted, diſcovered the reſt, ſo they were apprehended as they were going to the Communion, and he and a Woman were burnt in *December*; ſo 79 were burnt in all this year.

The Lord *Stourton* hanged.

This Year a horrid Murder of one *Argol*, and his Son, was committed by the Lord *Stourton*, and ſome of his Servants: Who after they had butchered them in a moſt barbarous manner, buried them fifteen foot deep in the Ground. The Lord *Stourton* was a zealous Papiſt, and had proteſted againſt all the Acts that had paſt in King *Edward*'s time; yet the Queen not only would not pardon him, but would not ſo much as change the Infamous death of hanging, into a beheading; not becauſe the Prerogative extends not ſo far, as ſome have without reaſon aſſerted; for both the Duke of *Somerſet* condemned in the Reign of King *Edward*, and the Lord *Audly* condemned

demned under King *Charles* the First, for Felony, were beheaded: But the Queen resolved in this Case to shew no favour. All the distinction was, that the Lord *Stourton* was hanged in a silken Rope. This was much extolled as an Instance of the Queen's impartial Justice; and it was said, that since she left her Friends to the Law, her Enemies had no cause to complain, if it was executed on them. Book III 1557.

The War breaking out between *Spain* and *France*, King *Philip* had a great mind to engage *England* in it. The Queen complained often of the kind reception that was given to the Fugitives that fled out of *England* to *France*, and it was believed, that the *French* secretly supplied and encouraged them to imbroil her Affairs. One *Stafford* had this Year gathered many of them together, and landing in *Yorkshire*, he surprized the Castle of *Scarborough*, and published a Manifesto against the Queen, that by bringing in Strangers to govern the Nation, she had forfeited her Right to the Crown: But few came in to him; so he and his Complices were forced to render, and four of them were hanged. The *English* Ambassadour in *France*, Dr. *Wotton*, discovered that the Constable had a Design to take *Calais*; for he sent his own Nephew, whom he had brought over and instructed secretly to him: He pretended he was sent from a great Party in that Town, who were resolved to deliver it up; at which the Constable seemed not a little glad, and entred into a long Discourse with him of the Methods of taking it; yet all this made no great Impression on the Queen; all her Council, chiefly the Clergy, were against engaging, for they saw that would oblige them to slacken their Severities at home; so the King found it necessary to come over himself, and perswade her to it. He prevailed with her: And after a denunciation of War, she sent over *Eight thousand* Men to his assistance, who joyned the *Spanish* Army consisting

The Queen joins in the War against *France*.

Book III consisting of *Fifty thousand* that were set down before St. *Quintin*.

1557. The Battel of St. *Quintin*. The Constable of *France* came with a great force to raise the Seige; but when the two Armies were in view of one another, the *French* by a mistake in the word of Command, fell in Disorder; upon which, the *Spaniards* charged them with such success, that the whole Army was defeated: Many were killed on the place, and many were taken Prisoners, among whom, was the Constable himself: And the *Spaniards* lost only fifty Men. Had *Philip* followed this Blow, and marched straight to *Paris*, he had found all *France* in a great Consternation; but he sat still before S. *Quintin*, which held out till the terror of this Defeat was much over. The Constable lost his Reputation in it, and all looked on it as a Curse upon that King for the breach of his Faith.

The Pope recalls *Pool*. The *French* Troops were called out of *Italy*, upon which, the Pope being now exposed to the *Spaniards*, fell in strange fits of Rage; particularly, he inveighed much against *Pool*, for suffering the Queen to joyn with the Enemies of the Apostolick See: And having made a General Decree, recalling all his Legates and Nuncio's in the *Spanish* Dominions, he recalled *Pool*'s Legatine Power among the rest: And neither the Intercessions of the Queen's Ambassadours, nor the other Cardinals could prevail with him to alter it: Only as an extraordinary Grace, he consented not to intimate it to him. But after this he went further: He made Frier *Peyto* a Cardinal: He liked him for his railing against King *Henry* to his Face, and thought that since the Queen had made him her Confessor, he would be very acceptable to her. He recalled *Pool*'s Powers, and required him to come to *Rome*, and answer to some Complaints made of him, for the favour he shewed to Hereticks: He also declared *Peyto* his Legate for *England*, and writ to the Queen to receive him:

But

But the Queen ordered the Bulls and Briefs that were ſent over, to be laid up without opening them, which had been the Method formerly practiſed, when unacceptable Bulls were ſent over: She ſent word to *Peyto*, not to come into *England*, otherwiſe ſhe would ſue him, and all that owned him, in a *Præmunire*. He died ſoon after. Cardinal *Pool* laid aſide the Enſigns of a Legate, and ſent over *Ormaneto* with ſo ſubmiſſive a Meſſage, that the Pope was much mollified by it, and a Treaty of Peace being ſet on foot, this Storm went over. The Duke of *Alva* marched near *Rome*, which was in no Condition to reſiſt him: So the Pope in great Fury called the Cardinals together, and told them, he was reſolved to ſuffer Martyrdom without being daunted; which they who knew that he had drawn all this on himſelf, by his Ambition and Rage, could ſcarce hear without Laughter. Yet the Duke of *Alva* was willing to treat. The haughty Pope, though he was forced to yield in the chief Points, yet in the punctilio's of Ceremonies, he ſtood ſo high upon his Honour, which he ſaid, was Chriſt's Honour, that he declared he would ſee the whole World ruined, rather than yield in a Title: In that the Duke of *Alva* was willing enough to comply with him, ſo he came to *Rome*, and in his Maſter's Name, asked pardon for Invading the Patrimony of St. *Peter*; and the Pope gave him Abſolution in as Inſolent a manner, as if he had been the Conqueror. The news of this Reconciliation was received in *England* with all the publickeſt expreſſions of Joy. In *Scotland*, the Queen Regent ſtudied to engage that Nation in the War: All that favoured the Reformation were for it; but the Clergy oppoſed it. The Queen thought to draw them into it, whether they would or not, and ſent in *D'oiſell* to beſiege a Caſtle in *England*. But the *Scotch* Lords complained much of that, and required him to give over his At-

Book III 1557.

Book III tempt, otherwise they would declare him an Ene-
my to the Nation. So after some slight Skirmish-
1557. es on the Borders, the matter was put up on both sides. This made the Queen Regent write to *France*, pressing them to conclude the Marriage between the *Dauphin* and the Queen: Upon which a Message was sent from that Court, desiring the *Scots* to send over Commissioners to treat about the Articles of the Marriage, and some of every state were dispatched for setling that matter. There was this Year great want of Money in the Exchequer of *England*; and the backwardness of the last Parliament, made the Council unwilling to call a new one. It was tried what Sums could be raised by Loan, upon Privy Seals: But so little came in that way, that at last one was Summoned to meet in *January*; yet in the mean while advertisements were given them, of the ill condition in which the Garrisons of *Calais*, and the neighbouring places were, and that the *French* had a design on them; but either they thought there was no danger during the Winter, or they wanted Money so much, that no care was taken to secure them.

Affairs in *Germany*.

In *Germany*, the Papists did this Year blow up the differences between the *Lutherans* and the *Zuinglians*, with so much Artifice, that a Conference which was appointed for setling matters of Religion, was broken up, without any good effect: Only it discovered a common practice of the Popish party, in engaging those that divided from them, into heats and animosities one against another, by which their strength was not only much weakned, but their Zeal, instead of turning against the Common Enemy, turned upon one another. But yet the many Experiments that have been made of this, have not been able to infuse that moderation and prudence in many of the Reformed Churches, which might have been expected. In *France*, the numbers of the Reformed increased

sed so much, that 200 assembled in St. *Germains*, one of the Suburbs of *Paris*, to receive the Communion. This was observed by the People of the Neighbourhood, and a Tumult was raised; the Men for the most part escaped, but 160 Women, and some few Men were taken: Of these, six Men and one Women were burnt: And most horrid things were published of that Meeting; and among other Calumnies, it was said, they sacrificed and eat a Child. All these were confuted in an Apology, Printed for their Vindication: The *German* Princes, and the *Cantons* interposed so effectually, and their Alliance was then so necessary to the Crown of *France*, that a stop was put to further Severities. The Pope complained much of that, and of some Edicts that the King had set out, annulling Marriages without consent of Parents, and requring Churchmen to reside at their Benefices, as Invasions on the Spiritual Authority. Book III 1557.

The beginning of the next Year was famous by the loss of *Calais*. The Duke of *Guise* sat down before it, on the 1 of *January*. The Garrison consisted but of 500 Men, so that two Forts about it, of which the one commanded the Avenue to it by Land, and the other commanded the Harbour, were easily taken: For the Lord *Wentworth*, that was Governour, could not spare Men enough to defend them. The *French* drew the Water out of the Ditches, and made the Assault, and carried the Castle; which was thought Impregnable: After that, the Town could do little, so it was surrendred, and the Governour with 50 Officers, were made Prisoners of War. Thus was this important place, which the *English* had kept 210 Years, lost in a Week, and that in Winter. From this the Duke of *Guise* went to besiege *Guines*, which had a better Garison of 1100 Men, but they were much disheartned by the loss of *Calais*; they retired into the Castle, and left 1558. *Calais* and other places taken by the *French*.

Book III 1558. the Town to the *French*; but yet they beat them once out of it. The *French*, after a long Battery, gave the Assault, and forced them to Capitulate: The Soldiers, as at *Calais*, had leave to go away, but the Officers were made Prisoners of War. The Garrison that was in *Hammes*, seeing themselves cut off from the Sea, and lost, abandoned the Place before the *French* summoned them. The loss of *Calais* raised great complaints against the Council, and they, to excuse themselves, cast the blame on the Lord *Wentworth*; and ordered a Citation to be made of him, when he was a Prisoner with the *French*; his Defence was not fit to be heard, otherwise it had been easie for the Council to have brought him over. He had not above the fourth part of that number that was necessary to defend the place; and in time of War had no more, than usually kept there in times of Peace; of this, both he, and Sir *Edward Grimston*, that was Comptrouler, gave full and timely advertisements, but had not those Supplies sent them that were necessary. They both came over in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, and offered themselves to Trial, and were acquitted. *Grimston* was unwilling to pay the great Ransom that was set on him; so after two years Imprisonment, he made his escape out of the *Bastile*, and came to *England*, and lived till the 98. Year of his Age. He was Great-grand-father to Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, the Author's Noble Patron and Benefactor. The *French* after this, took *Sark*, a little Island in the Channel; but it was ingeniously retaken by a *Fleming*, who pretended that he desired to bury a Friend of his, that had died aboard his Ship, in that Island: The *French* were very careful to search the Men that came ashore, that they should have no Arms about them; but did not think of looking into the Coffin, which was full of Arms, and when they thought the Seamen were burying their dead Friend, they armed themselves, and took all

all the *French* that were in the Caſtle. The Ingeniouſneſs, rather than the Importance of this, makes it worth the mentioning. Book III 1558.

The diſcontent that the loſs of *Calais* gave to the *Engliſh*, was ſuch, that the Queen could not hope ever to overcome it: And it ſunk ſo deep in her mind, that it haſtened her death not a little. Both ſides took upon them to draw Arguments from this loſs: The Reformers ſaid, it was a Judgment on the Nation for the contempt of the true Religion, and the Cruelties that had been of late practiſed; the Papiſts ſaid, the Hereticks had found ſuch ſhelter and connivence there, that no wonder the place was loſt. *Philip* ſent over, and offered his aſſiſtance to go, and retake the place, before the Fortifications ſhould be repaired, if the *Engliſh* would ſend over a Force equal to ſuch an undertaking; but they upon an Eſtimate made of the Expence, that this, and a War for the next Year would put them to, found it would riſe to *Five Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds* Sterling; and as the Treaſure was exhauſted, and could not furniſh ſuch a Sum, ſo they had no reaſon to expect ſuch liberal Supplies from the People. The Biſhops were afraid leſt the continuance of the War ſhould make it neceſſary to proceed more gently againſt Hereticks, and thought it better to ſit down with the loſs of *Calais*, than hazard that; they ſeemed confident that within a Year, they ſhould be able to clear the Kingdom of Hereſy; and therefore moved that preparations might be made for a War to begin the Year after this. Great diſcontents in *England*.

The Parliament aſſembled; for which the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and the Prior of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem* had their Writs, and ſat in it. The Lords deſired a Conference with the Commons, concerning the ſafety of the Nation; and upon that a Subſidy, a Tenth, and a Fifteenth were given by the Laity, and the Clergy gave eight ſhillings in the Pound, to be payed in four Years. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter* The Parliament meets.

Book III 1558. *ster* moved, that the Priviledges of Sanctuary might be again restored to his House; but that was laid aside. The Procurers of willful Murder were denied the benefit of the Clergy; but great opposition was made to it in the House of Lords. A Bill was brought in, confirming the Letters Patents, which the Queen had granted, or might grant. This related to the Foundations of Religious Houses, but one *Coxley* opposed this; and insinuated, that perhaps the Queen intended to dispose of the Crown, in prejudice of the Right Heir: At which the House expressed so great a Dislike, as shewed, they would not have it so much as imagined, that Lady *Elizabeth* could be excluded. He had a publick reprimand given him for insinuating a thing so much to the Queen's dishonour.

The carriage and usage of Lady *Elizabeth* all this Reign.

A Proposition of Marriage was at this time privately made by the King of *Sweden*, to Lady *Elizabeth*; but she rejected it, because it was not sent to her by the Queen: Though the Messenger declared that his Master, as he was a Gentleman, began at her; and as he was a King, he had ordered him to propose it next to the Queen. But she assured him, that if the Queen would leave her to her self, she would not change her state of Life. When the Queen knew of this, she approved much of her Sister's answer, and sent one to her to try her mind in it; for now the Proposition was made to her: But she expressed her dislike of a married state so firmly, that this motion fell to the ground. It seems her aversion was very great, otherwise the Condition she was then in, was neither so easy, nor so secure, but that she had reason to desire to be out of her Keeper's Hands, and to apprehend that her danger increased, as the Queen's health was impaired: For many of the Bishops were offering cruel Counsels against her. She had been first sent for upon the breaking out of *Wiat*'s Conspiracy: And though she lay

lay then ſick in Bed, ſhe was forced to come to Court: There ſhe was at firſt confined to her Lodgings, and was afterwards carried to the *Tower*, and led into it by the *Traytor*'s Gate, and was ſtrictly guarded: Her Servants were put from her, and none had acceſs to her, but thoſe that were Spies upon her: Nor was ſhe ſuffered to walk on the Leads, or have the ordinary comforts of Air. Some were put to the Rack to draw Confeſſions from them, but none accuſed her, except *Wiat*, and he retracted what he had ſaid in hopes of a Pardon, when he was upon the Scaffold. When it appeared that nothing could be made out againſt her, ſhe was ſent down to *Woodſtock*; and was kept under ſtrict Guards, and very roughly uſed by Sir *Henry Bennefield*. But King *Philip* ſo far mollified the Queen towards her, that he prevailed with her to bring her to Court; and to admit her to her Preſence. *Gardiner*, and many others dealt much with her, to confeſs her offences, and ask the Queen's Pardon: But ſhe always ſtood upon her Innocence, and ſaid, ſhe had never offended her, not ſo much as in her Thoughts. When ſhe was brought to the Queen, ſhe renewed the ſame Proteſtations to her, and begged that ſhe would entertain a good Opinion of her. The Queen, though ſhe preſſed her much to acknowledg ſome faultineſs, yet ſeemed to be ſatisfied with what ſhe ſaid; and parted with her in good terms; of which King *Philip* had ſome apprehenſions, for he had conveyed himſelf ſecretly into a corner of the Room, that he might prevent a further breach, in caſe the Queen ſhould fall into Heats with her. After this, her Guards were diſcharged, and ſhe ſeemed to be at liberty: But ſhe had ſo many Spies about her, that to avoid all ſuſpicion, ſhe medled in no ſort of buſineſs; but gave her ſelf wholly to ſtudy: Thus was ſhe imployed for five Years, during which time, ſhe was under continual apprehenſions of Death, which

Book III 1558.

was

Book III 1558.

was perhaps a neceſſary preparation for that long courſe of Proſperity and Glory, with which ſhe was afterwards bleſt.

More burnings.

During the ſitting of Parliaments, the Biſhops did always intermit their Cruelties; but as ſoon as they were over, they returned to them. *Cuthbert Simpſon*, one in Deacons Orders, had been taken at the Meeting in *Iſlington*, and was rackt with extream Severity, to make him confeſs all the Friends they had in *London*; but nothing was drawn from him; ſo in *March*, he and two others were burnt in *Smithfield*. In *April*, one was burnt at *Hereford*; and in *May*, three were burnt at *Colcheſter*: Several Books were Printed beyond Sea, and ſecretly conveyed into *England*: Upon which, a Proclamation of a very ſtrange nature was ſet out; 'That if any receiv-'ed any of theſe Books, and did not preſently burn 'them, without either reading them, or ſhewing 'them to any Perſon, they were to be Executed im-'mediately by Martial Law. Seven were burnt in *Smithfield* in the end of *May*, and another Proclamation was at that time made in the Queen's name, againſt all that ſhould ſpeak to them, or pray for them: but no Authority could reſtrain thoſe prayers, which devout minds offered up ſecretly to God. Six were burnt at *Brainford*, in *July*: a Miniſter was burnt at *Norwich*, in that Month. In *Auguſt*, a Gentleman was burnt near *Wincheſter*: At St. *Edmondsbury*, four were burnt in *Auguſt*, and three more in *November*; at the ſame time, a Man and a Woman were burnt at *Ipſwich*; a Woman was alſo burnt at *Exeter*; and on the 10*th* of *November*, three Men and two Women were burnt at *Canterbury*, in all XXXIX this Year. All that were burnt during this Reign, as far as I could gather the number, were 284; though *Grindall*, that lived in that time, writes that in two Years, 800 were burnt: many more were impriſoned, 60 died in Priſon; others, after

after much cruel uſage, *Bonner* himſelf often diſciplining them with Whips and Tortures, were prevailed on to abjure; but carried in their minds a deep averſion to that Cruelty which had tempted them to ſuch Apoſtaſy. At firſt Pardons were offered at the Stake, to tempt the Martyrs to the laſt moment of their Life; but afterwards the Prieſts Cruelty, as it continued to the laſt Week of the Queen's Life, ſo it increaſed to that degree, that *Bembridge*, who was burnt near *Winchester*, in *Auguſt*, crying out, when he felt the Violence of the Fire, that he recanted; the Sheriff made his People put out the Fire, and hoped, that ſince the Clergy pretended, that they deſired the Converſion, and not the Deſtruction of the Hereticks, this act of Mercy would not diſpleaſe them: But the Council writ to him, ordering him to go on and execute the Sentence, and to take care that he ſhould die a good Catholick; for it was ſaid, if he recanted ſincerely, he was fit to die; and if he did it not ſincerely, he was not fit to live: And when this was done, the Sheriff was put in the *Fleet* for his Preſumption. Book III. 1558.

Ill ſucceſs, and ſtrange accidents.

This Year the Lord *Clinton* was ſent with a Fleet of 120 Ships, and 7000 Land-men in it, againſt *France*, he made but one deſcent, and loſt 600 Men in it; ſo after an inglorious and expenceful Voyage, he returned back. The *Engliſh* had loſt their Hearts, and began to think that Heaven was againſt them. Extraordinary accidents encreaſed thoſe Apprehenſions: Thunder broke violently in *Nottingham*; the *Trent* ſwell'd exceſſively, and did much miſchief. Hail-ſtones of a huge bigneſs fell in ſome places. Intermitting Fevers were ſo Univerſal and Contagious, that they raged like a Plague: ſo that in many Places there were not People enough to reap the Harveſt: all which tended to increaſe the averſion to the Government, and that diſpoſed the *Queen* to hearken to overtures of Peace. This was projected between

Book III 1558. between the Bishop of *Arras*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who were the chief Favourites to the two Kings, and were both much set on extirpating Heresie, which could not be done, during the continuance of the War; the Cardinal of *Lorrain* was more earnest in it, because the Constable, who was the Head of the Faction, against the House of *Guise*, was suspected to favour it, and his three Nephews, the *Coligny*'s were known to incline to it: The King of *France* had also lost another Battel, this Year, at *Gravelin*, which made him desire a Peace: for he thought the driving the *English* out of *France*, did compensate both that, and his loss at St. *Quintin*: So both those Princes reckoned they had such advantages, that they might make Peace with honour; and they being thus disposed to it, a Treaty was opened at *Cambray*. *Philip* in his own disposition was much inclined to extirpate Heresy, and the Brothers of *Guise* possessed the King of *France* with the same Maxims: which seemed more necessary, because Heresy had then spread so much in that Court, that both the King and Queen of *Navarre* declared themselves for the Reformation: and great numbers in the Publick Walks about *Paris*, used to assemble at Nights, and sing *David*'s Psalms in Verse. The King of *Navarre* was the first Prince of the Blood, and so was in great consideration for his rank, but was a weak Man: His *Queen* was the wonder of her Age, both for great Parts, eminent Virtues, and a most Extraordinary sense of Religion. There was an Edict set out, forbidding this Psalmody; but the dignity of these Crowned Heads, and the Numbers of these that were engaged in it, made it seem not advisable to punish any for it, at least till a general Peace had been first made.

The *Dauphin* and Queen of *Scotland* married.

In *April* was the *Dauphin* married to the Queen of *Scotland*, which was honoured by an Epithalamium, writ by *Buchanan*, reckoned to be one of the rarest

rareſt Pieces of *Latin* Poetry. The Deputies ſent from *Scotland* were deſired to offer the *Dauphin* the Crown of *Scotland*, in the Right of his Wife: But they ſaid, that exceeded the bounds of their Commiſſion, ſo they only promiſed to repreſent the matter to the States of *Scotland*, but could not conceal the averſion they had to it. Soon after Four of the Seven, that were ſent over died, and the Fifth eſcaped narrowly. It was generally ſuſpected, that they were poiſoned: when the reſt returned to *Scotland*, an Aſſembly of the States was called, in which it was agreed to allow the *Dauphin* the Title of King, but with this Proviſo, that he ſhould have no power over them; and that it was only a bare Title, which they offered him. This was appointed to be carried to him, by the Earl of *Argile*, and the *Prior* of St. *Andrews*, who had been the chief Sticklers for the *French* Intereſt, in hopes of the *Queen Regent*'s Protection againſt the rage of the Biſhops, in matters of Religion. Book III 1558.

In *England*, a Parliament was called, the 5*th* of *November*: the *Queen* being ill, ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and laid before him the ill condition of the Nation, and the neceſſity of putting it in a poſture of defence: But the Commons were ſo ill ſatisfied with the Conduct of Affairs, that they could come to no reſolution; ſo on the 14*th* of that Month, twelve of the chief Lords of both Eſtates, came down to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired them to grant a Subſidy to defend the Nation, both againſt the *French* and *Scots*: but the Commons came to no concluſion, till the *Queen*'s death, on the 17*th*, put an end to the Parliament. A Parliament in *England*.

Her falſe Conception, and the Melancholly that followed it, which received a ſurcharge from the loſs of *Calais*, brought her into an ill habit of Body, and that turned to a Dropſie, which put an end to her The Queen's Death.

Unhappy

Book III 1558. Unhappy Reign, in the Forty third year of her Age, after she had reigned five Years, four Months and eleven Days. Sixteen hours after her, Cardinal *Pool* died, in the fifty ninth year of his Age. He left *Priuli* a Noble *Venetian*, that had lived twenty six years in an intire friendship with him, his Executor: But as *Pool* had not studied to heap up much Wealth, so *Priuli*, who had refused a Cardinal's Hat, rather than be obliged thereby to lose his Company, gave it all away, and reserved nothing to himself, but his Breviary and Diary.

Pool's Death and Character.

Pool was a learned, humble, prudent and moderate Man; and had certainly the best notions of any of his Party then in *England:* But he was almost alone in them; so that the Queen, whose temper and principles were fierce and severe, preferred the bloody Counsels of *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, to the wiser and better methods which he proposed. And though his superstition for the See of *Rome*, continued still with him, yet his Eyes were opened in many things. His being Legate at *Trent*, and his retirement at *Viterbo*, had both enlightned and composed his mind; and that joyned to the Probity and sweetness of his Temper, produced great effects in him. His Character deserves the more to be enlarged on, because there was no others of the Clergy, at that time, concerning whom even a partial Historian can find much good to relate; for their temporising and dissimulation, in the changes that were made, and their Cruelty, when power was put in their hands, were so scandalous, that it is scarce possible to write of them with that softness of stile that becomes an Historian.

The Queen's Character.

The Queen had been bred to some more than ordinary knowledge: A froward sort of Virtue, and a Melancholy Piety are the best things that can be said of her; she left the Conduct of Affairs wholly in the hands of her Council, and gave her self up to follow

follow all the dictates and humours of the Clergy: And though ſhe eſteemed *Pool* beyond them all, yet ſhe imputed the moderateneſs of his Counſels, rather to his Temper, than to his Judgment: And perhaps thought that the Pope, who preſſed all Princes to ſet up Courts of Inquiſition for extirpating of Hereſy, was more likely to be Infallible than the Cardinal: And as Princes were required by the fourth Council in the *Laterân*, to extirpate Hereticks, under the pain of forfeiting their Dominions; ſo the Pope had ſet out a Decree this Year, by the advice of his Cardinals, confirming all Canons againſt Hereticks; declaring that ſuch Princes as fell into Hereſy, did thereby forfeit all their Rights, without any ſpecial Sentence; and that any that could, might ſeize on their Dominions. The Biſhops had alſo this to ſay for the Severities, that by the Oath which they took at their Conſecrations, they were bound to *perſecute Hereticks with all their might*; ſo that the Principles of that Religion, working on ſowre and revengful tempers, it was no wonder that cruel Councils were more acceptable than moderate ones.

Book III 1558.

BOOK IV.

OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE *REFORMATION* In the beginning of Q. *ELIZABETH*'s Reign.

Book IV 1558.

THE Morning after Queen *Mary* died, the Lord Chancellor went to the Houſe of Lords, and communicated to them the News of Her Death, and then ſent for the Commons, and declared it to them: And added, that the Crown was now devolved on their preſent Queen *Elizabeth*, whoſe Title they were reſolved to proclaim: This was Ecchoed with repeated Acclamations, which were ſo full of Joy, that it appeared how weary the Nation was of the Cruel and weak adminiſtration of affairs under the former Reign, and that they hoped for better times under the next. And indeed the Proclaiming the new Queen, both at *Weſtminſter*, and in the City of *London*, was received with ſuch unuſual tranſports of Joy, as gave the Melancholly Prieſts juſt cauſe to fear a new Revolution in matters of Religion; and though

Queen *Elizabeth* Proclaimed.

Book IV 1558. the Queen's Death affected them with a very ſenſible Sorrow, yet the Joy in this Change was ſo great and ſo Univerſal, that a ſad look was thought Criminal, and the Prieſts were glad to vent their Griefs at their forſaken Altars, which were now like to be converted again to Communion Tables.

The Queen came to London.

The Queen came from *Hatfield*, where ſhe had lived private, to *London*. The Biſhops met her at *Highgate*; ſhe received them all kindly, only ſhe lookt on *Bonner* as defiled with ſo much Blood, that it ſeemed indecent to treat him with the ſweetneſs that always attends the beginnings of Reigns, for common Civility to a Perſon ſo polluted, might ſeem ſome countenance to his Crimes. She paſt through *London*, in the midſt of all the Joys, that People, delivered from the Terror of Fires and Slavery, could expreſs: She quickly ſhewed, that ſhe was reſolved to retain no Impreſſions of the Hardſhips ſhe had met with in her Siſter's time, and treated thoſe that had uſed her worſt, with great gentleneſs, *Bennefield* himſelf not excepted; only with a ſharpneſs of Rallery, ſhe uſed to call him her *Jaylor*. She gave notice of her coming to the Crown to all Foreign Princes, and writ particular acknowledgments to King *Philip*, for the good Offices he had done her. Among the reſt, ſhe writ to Sir *Edward Karn*, that was her Siſter's Ambaſſadour at *Rome*. But the Pope in his uſual ſtile told him, that *England* was a Fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high Preſumption in her, to take the Crown without his conſent, eſpecially ſhe being illegitimate: But he ſaid, if ſhe would renounce her Pretenſions, and refer her ſelf wholly to him, ſhe might expect from him all the Favour that could conſiſt with the Dignity of the Apoſtolick See. The Queen hearing this, recalled *Karn*'s Power; but he being a zealous Papiſt, continued ſtill at *Rome*.

Philip propoſed Marriage to the Queen, and undertook

dertook to procure a Diſpenſation for it from *Rome*: But the Queen, as ſhe continued all her Life averſe to that ſtate of Life, ſo ſhe knew how unacceptable a Stranger, and particularly a *Spaniard*, would be to her People: She did not much value the Pope's Diſpenſation; and if two Siſters might marry the ſame Perſon, then two Brothers might likewiſe marry the ſame Woman: Which would have overthrown all the Arguments for her Father's Divorce with Queen *Catherine*, upon which the Validity of her Mother's Marriage and her Legitimation did depend. Yet though ſhe firmly reſolved not to marry King *Philip*, ſhe thought that during the Treaty at *Cambray*, it was not fit to put him quite out of hopes; ſo he ſent to *Rome* for a Diſpenſation, but the *French* ſent to oppoſe it, and ſet up a Pretenſion for the Young Queen of *Scotland*, as the rightful Heir to the Crown of *England*.

1558.

Philip propoſes Marriage to the Queen, but in vain.

The Queen continued to employ moſt of her Siſters Privy-Councellours, and they had turned ſo often before, in matters of Religion, that it was not likely they would be intractable in that Point: But to theſe ſhe added divers others; the moſt eminent of whom, were Sir *Will. Cecyl*, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*. She ordered all that were Impriſoned on the account of Religion, to be ſet at liberty: Upon which, one, that uſed to talk pleaſantly, told her, the four Evangeliſts continued ſtill Priſoners, and that the People longed much to ſee them at liberty: She anſwered, ſhe would talk with themſelves, and know their own mind. Some propoſed the annulling all Queen *Mary*'s Parliaments, becauſe force was uſed in the firſt, and the Writs for another were not lawful, ſince the Title of *Supream Head* was left out in the Summons, before it was taken away by Law: But it was thought a Precedent of dangerous Conſequence, to annul Parliaments upon Errors in Writs, or particular Diſorders.

The Counſels about changing Religion.

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The Queen came from *Hatfield*, where ſhe had lived private, to *London*. The Biſhops met her at *Highgate*; ſhe received them all kindly, only ſhe lookt on *Bonner* as defiled with ſo much Blood, that it ſeemed indecent to treat him with the ſweetneſs that always attends the beginnings of Reigns, for common Civility to a Perſon ſo polluted, might ſeem ſome countenance to his Crimes. She paſt through *London*, in the midſt of all the Joys, that People, delivered from the Terror of Fires and Slavery, could expreſs: She quickly ſhewed, that ſhe was reſolved to retain no Impreſſions of the Hardſhips ſhe had met with in her Siſter's time, and treated thoſe that had uſed her worſt, with great gentleneſs, *Bennefield* himſelf not excepted; only with a ſharpneſs of Rallery, ſhe uſed to call him her *Jaylor*. She gave notice of her coming to the Crown to all Foreign Princes, and writ particular acknowledgments to King *Philip*, for the good Offices he had done her. Among the reſt, ſhe writ to Sir *Edward Karn*, that was her Siſter's Ambaſſadour at *Rome*. But the Pope in his uſual ſtile told him, that *England* was a Fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high Preſumption in her, to take the Crown without his conſent, eſpecially ſhe being illegitimate: But he ſaid, if ſhe would renounce her Pretenſions, and refer her ſelf wholly to him, ſhe might expect from him all the Favour that could conſiſt with the Dignity of the Apoſtolick See. The Queen hearing this, recalled *Karn*'s Power; but he being a zealous Papiſt, continued ſtill at *Rome*.

Philip propoſed Marriage to the Queen, and undertook

dertook to procure a Diſpenſation for it from *Rome*: But the Queen, as ſhe continued all her Life averſe to that ſtate of Life, ſo ſhe knew how unacceptable a Stranger, and particularly a *Spaniard*, would be to her People: She did not much value the Pope's Diſpenſation; and if two Siſters might marry the ſame Perſon, then two Brothers might likewiſe marry the ſame Woman: Which would have overthrown all the Arguments for her Father's Divorce with Queen *Catherine*, upon which the Validity of her Mother's Marriage and her Legitimation did depend. Yet though ſhe firmly reſolved not to marry King *Philip*, ſhe thought that during the Treaty at *Cambray*, it was not fit to put him quite out of hopes; ſo he ſent to *Rome* for a Diſpenſation, but the *French* ſent to oppoſe it, and ſet up a Pretenſion for the Young Queen of *Scotland*, as the rightful Heir to the Crown of *England*.

Book VI. 1558.

Philip propoſes Marriage to the Queen, but in vain.

The Queen continued to employ moſt of her Siſters Privy-Councellours, and they had turned ſo often before, in matters of Religion, that it was not likely they would be intractable in that Point: But to theſe ſhe added divers others; the moſt eminent of whom, were Sir *Will. Cecyl*, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*. She ordered all that were Impriſoned on the account of Religion, to be ſet at liberty: Upon which, one, that uſed to talk pleaſantly, told her, the four Evangeliſts continued ſtill Priſoners, and that the People longed much to ſee them at liberty: She anſwered, ſhe would talk with themſelves, and know their own mind. Some propoſed the annulling all Queen *Mary*'s Parliaments, becauſe force was uſed in the firſt, and the Writs for another were not lawful, ſince the Title of *Supream Head* was left out in the Summons, before it was taken away by Law: But it was thought a Precedent of dangerous Conſequence, to annul Parliaments upon Errors in Writs, or particular Diſorders.

The Counſels about changing Religion.

Book VI 1558. The Queen desired, that all the Changes that should be made, might be so managed, as to breed as little Divisions among her People as was possible: She did not like the Title of *Supream Head*, as importing too great an Authority. She loved Magnificence in Religion, as she affected it in all other things; this made her inclined to keep Images still in Churches: And that the Popish Party might be offended as little as was possible, she intended to have the manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament defined in general terms, that might comprehend all sides. A Scheme was formed of the Method in which it was most advisable for the Queen to proceed, and put in *Cecyl*'s Hands.

A Scheme proposed.

'It was thought necessary to do nothing till a 'Parliament were called: The Queen had reason to 'look for all the mischief that the Pope could do 'her, who would set on the *French*, and by their 'means, the *Scots*, and perhaps the *Irish*, against 'her. The Clergy, and those that were imployed 'in Queen *Mary*'s time, would oppose it; and do 'what they could to inflame the Nation: And the 'greater part of the People loved the Pomp of the 'old Ceremonies. It was therefore proposed, that 'the Queen should on any terms make Peace with '*France*; and encourage the Party in *Scotland*, that 'desired a Reformation. The Clergy were generally hated for their Cruelty, and it would be easy 'to bring them within the Statute of *Præmunire*: 'Care was also to be taken to expose the former 'Councellours, for the ill conduct of Affairs in 'Queen *Mary*'s time, and so to lessen their Credit. 'It was also proposed to look well to the Commissions, both for the Peace and the Militia, and to 'the Universities. Some Learned Men were to be 'ordered, to consider what alterations were fit to be 'made, and by what steps they should proceed. It was thought fit to begin with the Communion in both Kinds.

Now

Now did the Exiles, that had fled beyond Sea, return again, and ſome zealous People began, in many places, to break Images, and ſet up King *Edward*'s Service again. Upon this, the Queen ordered, that the Litany, and other parts of the Service ſhould be ſaid in *Engliſh*, and that no Elevation ſhould be uſed in the Maſs: But required her Subjects by Proclamation, to avoid all Innovations, and uſe no other Forms but thoſe that ſhe kept up in her Chappel, till it ſhould be otherwiſe appointed in Parliament. She ordered her Siſter's Funeral to be performed with the ordinary Magnificence: *White*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that preached the Sermon, not only extolled her Government much, but made ſevere Reflections on the preſent ſtate of Affairs; for which he was confined to his Houſe for ſome time.

Book IV.

1558.

The impatience of ſome

27 December.

Many Sees were now vacant: So one of the firſt things that came under Conſultation, was the finding out fit Men for them. Dr. *Parker* was pitched on, as the fitteſt Man for the See of *Canterbury*: He had been Chaplain to *Anne Bolleyn*, and had been imployed in Inſtructing the Queen in the Points of Religion, when ſhe was young: He was well known to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, and both *He* and *Cecyl* gave ſo high a Character of him, that it meeting with the Queen's particular Eſteem, made them reſolve on advancing him: But as ſoon as he knew it, he uſed all the Arguments poſſibly he could againſt it, both from the weakneſs of his Body, and his unfitneſs for ſo great a Charge. He deſired that he might be put in ſome ſmall Benefice of 20 Nobles a Year; ſo far was he from aſpiring to great Wealth, or high Dignities: And as *Cranmer* had done before him, he continued for many Months ſo averſe to it, that it was very hard to overcome him. Such Promotions are generally, if not greedily ſought after, yet at leaſt willingly enough undertaken; but

Parker refuſes the See of *Canterbury* long.

Book IV looked liker the practices in Ancient than Modern times. In the beſt Ages of the Church, inſtead of
1558. that *Ambitus*, which has given ſuch ſcandal to the World in latter times, it was ordinary for Men to fly from the offer of great Preferments, and to retire to a Wilderneſs, or a Monaſtery, rather than undertake a charge, which they thonght above their Merit or Capacity to diſcharge. And this will ſtill ſhew it ſelf in all ſuch as have a juſt ſenſe of the Paſtoral Care, and conſider the diſcharging that, more than the raiſing or enriching themſelves or their Families. And it was thought no ſmall honour to the Reformation, that the two chief Inſtruments that promoted it, *Cranmer* and *Parker*, gave ſuch evidences of a Primitive Spirit, in being ſo unwillingly advanced.

1559. *Bacon* made Lord *Keeper*. The Seals were taken from *Heath*, and put in *Bacon*'s hands, who was declared *Lord Keeper*, and had all the Dignity and Authority of the Chancellor's Office, without the Title, which was perhaps an effect of his great Modeſty, that adorned his other great qualities. As he was Eminent in himſelf, ſo he was happy in being Father to the Great Sir *Francis Bacon*, one of the chief Glories of the *Engliſh* Nation.

The Queen is Crowned. On the 13th of *January*, the Queen was Crowned: When ſhe entred into her Chariot at the *Tower*, ſhe offered up an humble acknowledgement to God, for delivering her out of that Lions Den, and preſerving her to that Joyful Day. She paſſed through *London* in great Triumph, and received all the expreſſions of Joy from her People, with ſo much ſweetneſs, as gained as much on their Hearts, as her Siſters ſowerneſs had alienated them from her. Under one of the Triumphal Arches, a Child came down as from Heaven, repreſenting *Truth* with a *Bible* in his hand, which ſhe received on her Knees, and kiſſed it, and ſaid, ſhe prefered

that

that above all the other Preſents that were that day made her: She was Crowned by *Ogletborp*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, for all the other Biſhops refuſed to aſſiſt at it; and he only could be prevailed on to do it. They perceived that ſhe intended to make changes in Religion, and though many of them had changed often before, yet they reſolved now to ſtick firmer to that which they had ſo lately profeſſed, and for which they had ſhed ſo much Blood. Book IV 1558.

The Parliament was opened on the 25*th.* of *January*; *Bacon* made a long Speech, both concerning matters of Religion, and the State of the Nation. He deſired they would examine the former Religion, without heat or partial affection; and that all reproaches might be forborn, and extreams avoided: And that things might be ſo ſetled, that all might agree in an Uniformity in Divine Worſhip. He laid open the Errours of the former Reign, and aggravated the loſs of *Calais*: But ſhewed, that it could not be eaſily recovered. He made a high Panegyrick of the Queen, but when he ſhewed the neceſſities ſhe was in, he ſaid, ſhe would deſire no ſupply, but what they ſhould freely and chearfully offer. The Houſe of Commons began at a Debate, Whether the want of the Title of *Supream Head* in the enumeration of the Queen's Titles, made a Nullity in the Writs, by which this and ſome former Parliaments had been ſummoned: But they concluded in the Negative. A Parliament is called.

The Treaty at *Cambray* ſtuck chiefly at the reſtitution of *Calais*: And King *Philip* for a great while inſiſted ſo poſitively on it, that he refuſed to make Peace on other terms. *England* had loſt it by a War, in which they engaged on his account; ſo in honour he was bound to ſee to it. But when the hopes of his marrying the Queen vaniſhed, and when he ſaw ſhe was going to make changes in Religion, he grew more careleſs of her Intereſts, and told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours, The Peace at *Cambray*

Book IV 1559. Ambaſſadours, that unleſs they would enter into a League for keeping up the War ſix Years longer, he muſt ſubmit to the neceſſity of his affairs, and make Peace. So the Queen liſtned to Propoſitions ſent her from *France*. She complained of the Q. of *Scotland* aſſuming the Title and Arms of *England*: It was anſwered, that ſince ſhe carried the Title and Arms of *France*, ſhe had no reaſon to quarrel much on that account. She ſaw ſhe could not make War with *France* alone, and knew that *Philip* had made a ſeparated Peace, She had no mind to begin her Reign with a War, that would probably be unſucceſsful, or demand Subdies that would be ſo grievous, as that thereby ſhe might loſe the Affections of her People. The loſs of *Calais* was no reproach on her, but fell wholly on her Siſter's Memory: And ſince ſhe intended to make ſome changes in matters of Religion, it was neceſſary to be at quiet with her Neighbours: Upon this, ſhe reſolved to make Peace with *France*, on the beſt terms that could be obtained. It was agreed, that at the end of eight Years, *Calais* ſhould either be reſtored, or *Five Hundred Thouſand* Crowns ſhould be payed the Queen: Yet if, during that time, ſhe made War, either on *France*, or *Scotland*, ſhe was to forfeit her right to *Calais*. *Aymouth* in *Scotland*, was to be raſed, and all differences on the Borders there, were to be determined by ſome deputed on both ſides; this being adjuſted, a general Peace between the Crowns of *England*, *France* and *Spain* was concluded: And thus the Queen being freed from the dangerous conſultations that the continuance of a War might have involved her in, was the more at liberty to ſettle matters at home.

Acts paſt in Parliament. The firſt Bill that was brought to try the Temper of the Parliament, was for the Reſtitution of the Tenths and Firſt-fruits to the Crown; againſt this all the Biſhops proteſted, but that was all the

the oppoſition made to it. By it, not only that Tax was of new laid on the Clergy, but all the Impropriated Benefices, which Queen *Mary* had ſurrendred, were reſtored to the Crown. Book IV 1559.

After this, the Commons made an Addreſs to the Queen, deſiring her to chooſe ſuch a Husband as might make both her ſelf, and the Nation happy. She received this very kindly, ſince they had neither limitted her to time, nor Nation: But declared, that as hitherto ſhe had lived with great ſatisfaction in a ſingle ſtate, and had refuſed the Propoſitions that had been made her, both in her Brother's and Siſter's Reign, ſo ſhe had no Inclination to change her courſe of life. If ever ſhe did it, ſhe would take care that it ſhould be for the good, and to the ſatisfaction of her People. She thought ſhe was married to the Nation at her Coronation, and looked on her People as her Children; and ſhe would be well contented, if her Tombſtone might tell Poſterity, *Here lies a Queen that Reigned ſo long, and lived and dyed a Virgin.* There was little more progreſs made in this matter, ſave, that a Committee was appointed by both Houſes to conſider what ſhould be the Authority of the Perſon, whom the Queen might happen to marry; but ſhe ſent them a Meſſage, to proceed to other Affairs, and let that alone. The Commons pray the Queen to marry.

A Bill for the Recognition of her Title to the Crown was put in: It was not thought neceſſary to Repeal the Sentence of her Mother's Divorce, for the Crown purged all defects: And it was thought need leſs to look back unto a thing, which could not be done, without at leaſt caſting ſome reproach on her Father; ſo it was in general words Enacted, 'That 'they did aſſuredly believe and declare, that by the 'Laws of God and the Realm, ſhe was their Law-'ful Queen, and was Rightly and Lineally de-'ſcended. This was thought a much wiſer way, than if they had examined the Sentence of Divorce, Her Title to the Crown acknowledged.

that

Book VI

that past, upon the Confession of a Precontract, which must have revived the remembrance of things that were better left in silence.

1559. Acts concerning Religion.

Bills were put in for the *English* Service, for reviving King *Edward*'s Laws, and for annexing the Supremacy again to the Crown. To that, concerning the Supremacy, two Temporal Lords, and nine Bishops, with the Abbot of *Westminster*, dissented. It was proposed to revive the Law, for making the Bishops by Letters Patents, as was in King *Edward*'s time; but they chose rather to renew the Act for Electing them, made in the 25 *Hen.* 8. They revived all Acts made against the Pope's Power, in King *Henry*'s time; and repealed those made by Queen *Mary*. They enacted an Oath, for acknowledging the Queen *Supream Governour in all Causes, and over all Persons*: Those that refused it, were to forfeit all Offices that they held, either in Church or State, and to be under a disability during Life. If any should advance the Authority of a Foreign Power; for the first Offence, they were to be Fined, or Imprisoned; for the second, to be in a *Præmunire*; and the third was made *Treason*. The Queen was also impowered to give Commissions, for Judging and Reforming Ecclesiastical Matters; who were limitted to Judge nothing to be Heresy, but what had been already so Judged by the Authority of the Scripture, or the first Four General Councils. All Points that were not decided, either by express words of Scriptures, or by those Councils, were to be referred to the Parliament and Convocation. The Title of *Supream Head* was changed, partly because the Queen had some Scruples about it, and partly to moderate the Opposition which the Popish Party might otherwise make to it: And the refusing the Oath was made no other way Penal, but that all Offices or Benefices were forfeited upon it, which was a great mitigation of the Severity in King *Henry*'s time. The Bishops

ſhops are ſaid to have made ſeveral Speeches a- Book VI.
gainſt this, in the Houſe of Lords: But that which
goes under the Name of *Heath*'s Speech, muſt be a 1559.
forgery; for in it the Supremacy is called a new and unheard of thing, which could not have flowed from one that had Sworn it ſo often, both under King *Henry*, and King *Edward*. *Tonſtall* came not to this Parliament, and he was ſo offended with the Cruelties of the laſt Reign, that he had withdrawn himſelf into his Dioceſs, where he burnt none himſelf; upon that it was now thought, that he was ſo much alienated from thoſe Methods, that ſome had great hopes of his declaring for the Reformation. *Heath* had been likewiſe very moderate, nor were any burnt under him. Upon the Power given the Queen, to appoint ſome to reform and direct all Eccleſiaſtical Matters, was the Court, called the *High Commiſſion Court*, founded: Which indeed was nothing but the ſharing that Authority, which was in one Perſon in King *Henry*'s time, into many Hands: For that Court had no other Authority, but that which was lodged formerly in *Cromwell*, as the King's Vicegerent, and was now thought too great to be truſted to one Man.

Great Complaints were made of Seditious Sermons preached by the Popiſh Clergy: Upon which the Queen followed the Precedent that her Siſter had made, and forbid all Preaching, excepting only by ſuch as obtained a Licence under the Great Seal for it: She likewiſe ſent an Order to the Convocation, requiring them, under the pains of a *Præmunire*, to make no Canons. Yet the Lower-Houſe, in an Addreſs to the Upper-Houſe, declared for the Corporal Preſence, and that the Maſs was a Propitiatory Sacrifice, and for the Supremacy, and that Matters of Religion fell only under the Cognizance of the Paſtors of the Church. The greateſt part of both the Univerſities had alſo ſet their

Preaching without Licence forbidden.

Hands

Book IV. Hands to all theſe Points, except the laſt. This, it ſeems, was the rather added by the
1559. Clerks of Convocation, to hinder a publick Conference, which the Queen had appointed between the Biſhops and the Reformed Divines. It was firſt propoſed to *Heath*, who was ſtill a Privy Councellour; and he, after ſome Conference about it with his Brethren, accepted of it. Nine of a ſide were to Diſpute about three Points: Worſhip in an Unknown Tongue; the Power that every particular Church had to alter Rites and Ceremonies, and the Maſſe's being a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead and the Living: All was to be given in, in Writing. The Biſhops were to begin in every Point, and they were to interchange their Papers, and anſwer them. The laſt of *March* was the firſt Day of Conference, which was held in *Weſtminſter* Abbey, in the Preſence of the Privy-Council, and both Houſes of Parliament. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* pretended, there had been ſome miſtake in the Order, and that their Paper was not quite finiſhed, but that Dr. *Cole* ſhould deliver in Diſcourſe what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order, that it could be Copied out. The ſecret of this was, the Biſhops had reſolved openly to Vindicate their Doctrine, but not to give any Papers, or enter into diſpute with Hereticks, or ſo far to acknowledge the Queen's Supremacy, as to engage in Conferences at her command. *Cole* was obſerved to read almoſt all he ſaid, though he affected to be thought only to deliver a diſcourſe ſo, as if moſt part of it had been Extemporary.

Arguments for and againſt the Worſhip in an unknown Tongue.

The ſubſtance of it was, That though the Worſhip in a known Tongue had been appointed in the Scriptures, yet the Church had power to change it, as ſhe changed the Sabbath, and had appointed the Sacrament to be received faſting, though it was Inſtituted after Supper; To eat Blood was forbid,

and

and a Community of goods was ſet up by the Apoſtles; yet it was in the power of the Church to alter theſe things; he enlarged on the evil of Schiſm, and the neceſſity of adhering to the Church of *Rome*. Vulgar Tongues changed daily, but the *Latine* was the ſame, and was ſpread over many Countries. The People might reap profit from Prayers which they underſtood not, as well as abſent Perſons. The Queen of *Ethiopia*'s Eunuch read *Iſaiah*, though he underſtood him not; and *Philip* was ſent to explain that Prophecy to him. Book IV 1559.

Horn, when this was ended, read the Paper drawn by the Reformers; he began it with a Prayer, and a Proteſtation of their ſincerity. They founded their Aſſertion on Saint *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; in which he enjoyned them to pray with underſtanding, that ſo the Unlearned might ſay, *Amen*, and that nothing ſhould be ſpoken that might give an uncertain ſound, but that all things ſhould be done to edification; and tho' the ſpeaking with ſtrange Tongues, was then an extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghoſt, yet he forbids the uſing it, where there was no Interpreter. Things ſo expreſly enjoyned could not be indifferent, or fall under the power of the Church. The *Jews* had their Worſhip in the Vulgar Tongue, ſo had alſo the moſt barbarous Nations when converted to Chriſtianity. The natural uſe of Speech was, that every thing which was ſaid, might be underſtood: Quotations were brought, to ſhew that Pſalms were daily ſung in the Vulgar Tongue among all Nations.

When they ended their Paper, it was received with a ſhout of applauſe; and was put in the Lord Keeper's hands, ſigned by them all. But the Biſhops refuſed to deliver theirs. The next day was appointed for the conſidering the ſecond Point; but the Biſhops reſolved to go no farther in the Conference; for they ſaw by the applauſe of the People, that

Book IV 1559. that the Audience was more favourable to the other ſide: So the next day of Meeting, they offered an anſwer to the Paper given in the former day by the Reformers. The Lord Keeper told them, that according to the Order laid down, they were firſt to go through the three Points, before they might be ſuffered to reply: But they ſaid, *Cole* had the former day only given his own ſenſe in an Extemporary diſcourſe. Their foul dealing in this was condemned by the whole Audience, ſo the Lord Keeper required them to go to the ſecond Point; But they refuſed to begin, and moved that the other ſide ſhould be made to begin; and though the Lord Keeper ſhewed them, that this was contrary to the Order agreed on before-hand, yet they continued all reſolute, and would not proceed any further; *Fecknam* only excepted: But he ſaid, he could do nothing alone, ſince the reſt would not joyn with him. The Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln* ſaid, the Faith of the Church ought not to be examined, except in a Synod of Divines: And it gave too great an encouragement to Hereticks, to diſpute with them: And that both the Queen and her Council deſerved to be excommunicated, for ſuffering them to argue againſt the Catholick Faith, before an Unlearned Multitude. Upon this, they were ſent to the *Tower*, and the Conference broke up: But the Reformers thought the advantage was much on their ſide, and that things were now carried much more fairly, than had been in thoſe Conferences and Diſputes that were in the beginning of the former Reign. The Papiſts, on the other hand ſaid, it was viſible the Audience was prepoſſeſſed, and that the Conference was appointed only to make way for the changes, that the Parliament was then about, with the Pomp of a Victory; and therefore as they blamed the Biſhops for undertaking it, ſo they juſtified them for breaking it off.

The

The Book of Common-Prayer was now reviſed, the moſt conſiderable alteration was, that the expreſs Declaration which was made in the ſecond Book ſet out by King *Edward*, againſt the Corporal Preſence, was left out, that ſo none might be driven out of the Communion of the Church upon that account. The matter was left undetermined, as a ſpeculative Point, in which People were left at liberty. The Book of Ordination was not ſpecially mentioned in the Act, which gave occaſion to *Bonner* afterwards to queſtion the Legality of Ordinations made by it. But it had been made a part of the Common-Prayer Book in the 5*th* Year of King *Edward*, and the whole Book, then ſet out, was now confirmed: So that by a ſpecial Act made ſome Years after this, it was declared, that that Office was underſtood to be a part of it. 1559. The *Engliſh* Service is again ſet up.

When the Bill for the *Engliſh* Service was put in to the Houſe of Lords, *Heath*, and *Scot* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and *Feckenham*, made long Speeches againſt it, grounded chiefly on the Authority of the Church, the Antiquity of the eſtabliſhed Religion, and Novelty of the other; which was changed every Day, as appeared in King *Edward*'s time. They ſaid, the conſent of the Catholick Church, and the perpetual Succeſſion in St. *Peter*'s Chair, ought to have more Authority, than a few Preachers riſen up of late. They alſo enlarged much againſt the Sacriledge, the robbing of Churches, and the breaking of Images, that had been committed by the Reformers, and thoſe that favoured them. What was ſaid in oppoſition to this in the Houſe of Lords, is not known, but a great deal of it may be gathered from the Paper which the Reformed Divines drew upon the ſecond Point, about which, they were appointed to Diſpute, of the Power that every Church had to reform it ſelf. This they founded on the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* to the particular Churches, and St. *John*'s Speeches made againſt it by ſome Biſhops.

Book IV to the Angels of the Seven Churches. In the first three Ages there were no General Councils, but every Bishop in his Diocess, or such few Bishops as could Assemble together, condemned Heresies, or determined matters that were contested, so did also the Orthodox Bishops after *Arianism* had so overspread the World, that even the See of *Rome* was defiled with it. And Abuses were condemned in many places without staying for a general Concurrence; Though that was then more possible, when all was under one Emperor, than it was at present. Even in Queen *Mary*'s time, many Superstitions, as Pilgrimages, and the worshipping of Reliques were laid aside. Therefore they concluded, that the Queen might by her own Authority, reform even the Clergy, as *Hezekiah* and *Josias* had done under the Old Law. When the Act past in the House of Lords, eight Spiritual Lords, and nine Temporal Lords, protested against it, among whom was the Marquess of *Winchester*, Lord Treasurer. Another Act past with more opposition, that the Queen might reserve some Lands belonging to Bishopricks, to her self, as they fell void, giving in lieu of them Impropriated Tythes to the value of them; but this was much opposed in the House of Commons, who apprehended, that under this pretence, there might new spoils be made of Church-Lands, so that upon a division of the House, 90 were against it, but 133 were for it, and so it was past. All Religious Houses founded by the late Queen, were suppress and united to the Crown. The Deprivation of the Popish Bishops in King *Edward*'s time, was declared valid in Law, by which all the Leases which had been made by those that were put in their Sees, were good in Law: A Subsidy, and two Tenths, and two Fifteenths, with the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, were given, and so the Parliament was dissolved on the 8*th* of *May*.

1559.

Some Bills were proposed, but not past: One was for

for reſtoring the Biſhops deprived by Queen *Mary*, who were *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*: But the firſt of theſe had been made to reſign, and the laſt being extream old, reſolved to follow *Latimer*'s example, and not return to his See. So it was not thought worth the while to make an Act for *Scory* alone. Another Bill that was laid aſide, was for reſtoring all Church-men to their Benefices, that had been turned out, becauſe they were married: But it ſeems, it was not thought decent enough to begin with ſuch an Act. Another Bill that came to nothing, was for impowering XXXII Perſons to reviſe the Eccleſiaſtical Laws: But as this laſt was then let fall, ſo to the great prejudice of this Church, it has ſlept ever ſince. Book IV 1559.

After the Parliament was diſſolved, the Oath of Supremacy was tendred to the Biſhops, and all, except *Kitchin*, Biſhop of *Landaffe*, refuſed it. *Tonſtall* continued unreſolved till *September*, and ſo long did the Queen delay the puting it to him: But at laſt he refuſed it, and ſo loſt his Biſhoprick. It was generally believed that he quitted it rather, becauſe being extream old, he thought it indecent to forſake his Brethren, and to be ſtill changing, than out of any Scruple he had in his Conſcience, concerning it. All the Biſhops were at firſt put under Confinement, but they were ſoon after ſet at liberty; only *Bonner*, *White*, and *Watſon*, were kept Priſoners. Many Complaints were brought againſt *Bonner*, for the Cruelties he had been guilty of againſt Law, and the Tortures he had put his Priſoners to himſelf: But yet the Queen reſolved not to ſtain the beginnings of her Reign with Blood, and the Reformed Divines were, in imitation of *Nazianzen*, upon the like Revolution in the *Roman* Empire; exhorting their Followers not to think of revenging themſelves, but to leave that to God. *Heath* lived privately at his own Houſe, in which he was

Many Biſhops turned out.

Book IV. 1559.

ſometimes viſited by the Queen. *Tonſtall* and *Thirleby* were appointed to live in *Lambeth*, with the new Archbiſhop. *White* and *Watſon* were moroſe and haughty Men, much addicted to the School-Divinity, which has been often obſerved to incline People to an over-valuing of themſelves. All the other Biſhops, except *Pates*, *Scot*, and *Goldwell*, tha had been Biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Cheſter*, and St. *Aſaph*, continued ſtill in *England*: But theſe had leave to go beyond Sea. A few Gentlemen, and all the Nuns went likewiſe out of *England*; and ſo gentle was the Queen, that ſhe denied that Liberty to none that asked it.

The Queen inclined to keep Images in Churches.

The Queen inclined to keep Images ſtill in Churches, and though the Reformed Divines made many Applications to divert her from it; yet ſhe was not eaſily wrought on. The Divines put all their Reaſons againſt them in Writing, and deſired her to commit the determining of this matter to a Synod of Biſhops and Divines, and not to take up an unalterable Reſolution upon Political Conſiderations. They laid before her the ſecond Commandment againſt making Images for God, and the Curſe pronounced againſt thoſe that made an Image, and put it in a *ſecret place*, that is, in an Oratory: The Book of *Wiſdom* calls them *a ſnare for the feet of the Ignorant*. St. *John* charged the Chriſtians to *beware of Idols*, and not only of worſhipping them. The uſe of them fed Superſtition, and ended in Idolatry, and would breed great Diviſions among themſelves. They ſhewed that Images were not allowed in the Church, till the *7th* Century; and the Conteſts that were raiſed about them, in the *Eaſtern* Empire, occaſioned ſuch Diſtractions, as in a great meaſure made way for its ruin, and laid it open to the *Mahometans*. Theſe things wrought ſo much on the Queen, that ſhe was at laſt content they ſhould be put down.

It was now reſolved to ſend Viſitors over *England*, ſo Injunctions were prepared for them. Thoſe appointed

appointed in the firſt year of King *Edward*, were now renewed with ſome little alteration: To which, 'Rules were added, concerning the Marriages of the 'Clergy, for avoiding the ſcandals given by them. 'The Clergy were alſo required to uſe Habits, ac-'cording to their degrees in the Univerſities. All 'People were to reſort to their own Pariſh Church; 'and ſome were to be appointed to examine and 'give notice of thoſe who went not to Church: All 'ſlanderous words were forbidden. No Books were 'to be Printed without Licence: Inquiry was or-'dered to be made into all the proceedings againſt 'Hereticks, during the late Reign: Reverence was 'to be expreſſed, when the name *Jeſus* was pro-'nounced: An Explanation was made of the ſupre-'macy, that the Queen did not pretend to any au-'thority for Miniſtring Divine Service; but only 'that ſhe had the Soveraignity over all Perſons, and 'that no Foreign Power was to be acknowledged: 'And ſuch as had ſcruples about it, might declare, 'that they took it only in that ſenſe. A Commu-'nion Table was to be ſet, where the Altars ſtood 'formerly, but on Sacrament Days, it was to be 'brought into the moſt convenient place in the 'Chancel. The Bread for the Sacrament was to 'have no figure on it, and to be thicker than Wafers. 'The bidding Prayer was appointed to be the ſame 'that had been uſed in King *Edward*'s time, only 'an Expreſſion that imported a Prayer for the Dead, 'was changed. The obliging Churchmen to go al-ways in their Habits, was thought a good mean to make them obſerve the Decencies of their Function, when their Habit declared what they were, and would be a reproach to them, if they behaved themſelves unſuitably to it. The bowing at the name *Jeſus* was conſidered, as ſuch an acknowledg-ment of his Divinity, as was made by ſtanding up at the Creed, or the *Gloria Patri*. The liberty gi-

Book IV

1556. A General Viſitation.

Book IV ven to explain in what ſenſe the Oath of Supremacy was taken, gave a great Evidence of the Moderation of the Queen's Government; that ſhe would not lay ſnares for her People, which is always a ſign of a wicked and Tyrannical Prince. But the Queen reckoned, that if ſuch Comprehenſive Methods could be found out, as would once bring her People under an Union, though perhaps there might remain a great diverſity of Opinion, that would wear off with the preſent Age, and in the next Generation all would be of one mind. And this had the good effect that was expected from it, till the *Pope* and the King of *Spain* began to open Seminaries beyond Sea, for a Miſſion to *England*; which have ſince that time been the occaſion of almoſt all the diſtractions this Nation has laboured under.

1559.

The High Commiſſion Courts.

The Queen granted Commiſſions for the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, conſiſting moſt of the Laity; ſome few of the Clergy being mixed with them: 'Impowering them to viſit the Churches, to ſuſpend or deprive unworthy Clergymen, to proceed againſt ſcandalous Perſons, by Impriſonment or Church-cenſures; to reſerve Penſions for ſuch as reſigned their Benefices, and to reſtore ſuch as had been unlawfully put out in the late Reign. By theſe reſerved Penſions, as the Clergy that were turned out, were kept from extreme want, ſo they were in great meaſure bound to their good behaviour by them: The Impowering Lay-men to deprive Church-men, or Excommunicate, could not be eaſily excuſed; but was as juſtifiable, as the Commiſſions to Lay-chancellours for thoſe things were. There are *Nine thouſand four hundred*, Benefices in *England*, but of all theſe, the number of thoſe who choſe to reſign, rather than to take the Oath, was very inconſiderable. Fourteen Biſhops, ſix Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Archdeacons, fifteen Heads of Colledges, fifty Prependaries, and eighty

eighty Rectors, was the whole number of thoſe that were turned out. But it was believed, that the greateſt part complied againſt their Conſciences, and would have been ready for another turn, if the Queen had died, while that Race of Incumbents lived, and the next Succeſſor had been of another Religion. Book IV 1559.

The See of *Canterbury* was now to be filled: But *Parker* ſtood out long, before he would ſubmit to a burden, which he thought diſproportioned to his ſtrength. He ſaid, he was afraid of incurring God's Indignation, for accepting a truſt, which he could not diſcharge as he ought, having neither ſtrength of Body nor Mind equal to it: He was threatned with Impriſonment in caſe of refuſal; but he ſaid, he would ſuffer it chearfully, rather than engage in a ſtation, that was ſo far above him; and he had ſuch a ſenſe of the Epiſcopal Function, that he reſolved never to aſpire to it. He thought he had but two or three years more of life before him, and deſired to imploy theſe well, and not to be advanced to a place, in which he knew he could not anſwer the expectations that ſome had of him: He wiſhed the Queen would ſeek out a Man, that was neither Arrogant, Faint-hearted, nor Covetous: And expreſſed the great apprehenſions he had, that ſome Men, who he perceived were Men ſtill, notwithſtanding all the Trials they paſt through of late, would revive thoſe heats that were begun beyond Sea, and that they would fall a quarrelling among themſelves, which would prove a pleaſant diverſion to the Papiſts. But when by many repeated Commands, he was required to accept of that great Advancement, he at laſt writ to the Queen herſelf, and proteſted, 'That 'out of regard to God, and the good of her Service, 'he held himſelf bound in Conſcience, to declare to 'her his great unworthineſs for ſo high a Function; 'and ſo, as proſtrate at her Feet, he begged her to 'preſs it on him no further: For that Office did re-

Parker is very unwillingly made Archbiſh. of *Canterbury*.

Book IV

'require a Man of more Learning, Virtue and Expe-
'rience, than he perfectly knew was in himself. But
1559. as these denials, so earnestly and frequently repeated, shewed, that he had certainly some of the necessary Qualifications, which were true Humility, and a Contempt of the World; so they tended to increase the esteem which the Queen and her Ministers had of him: And they persisting in their Resolution, he was at last forced to yield to it. He was, upon the sending of the *Conge d' eslire*, chosen by the Chapter of *Canterbury*; and in *September*, the Queen issued out a Warrant for his Consecration, which was directed to *Tonstall*, *Bourn*, and *Pool*, (the last was Cardinal *Pool*'s Brother, and was Bishop of *Peterborough*) and to *Kitchin*, *Barlow*, and *Scory*: By which it appears, that there was then some hope of gaining the former three to obey the Laws, and to continue in their Sees; but they refusing to execute this, there was a second Warrant directed to *Kitchin*, *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*, and to *Bale*, Bishop of *Ossory*, and two Suffragan Bishops to Consecrate *Parker*: And on the 17*th* of *December*, he was Consecrated by four of these, according to the Book of Ordination set out under King *Edward*, only the giving the Pastoral Staff was now omitted.

The other Bishops consecration.

After this, *Parker* ordained *Grindal* for the See of *London*; *Cox* for *Ely*; *Horn* for *Winchester*; *Sandys* for *Worcester*; *Merick* for *Bangor*; *Young* for St. *Davids*; *Bullingham* for *Lincoln*; *Jewel* for *Salisbury*; *Davis* for St. *Asaph*; *Guest* for *Rochester*; *Berkley* for *Bath* and *Wells*, *Bentham* for *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; *Alley* for *Exeter*; and *Parre* for *Peterborough*; *Barlow* and *Scory* were put in the Sees of *Chichester* and *Hereford*. The Sees of *York* and *Duresme* were kept vacant a Year, upon some hopes that *Heath* and *Tonstall* would have comformed; but in the Year 1561, *Young* was translated from St. *Davids* to *York*; and *Pilkington* was put in *Duresme*.

All

All this is opened the more particularly, for discovering the Impudence of the Contrivance of the *Naggs*-Head Ordination, which was first vented in King *James*'s time, above Forty Years after this. It was then said, that the Elect Bishops met at the *Naggs*-Head Tavern in *Cheapside*, and were in great disorder, because *Kitchin* refused to consecrate them; upon which, *Scory* made them all kneel down, and laid the Bible on their Heads, saying, *Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God sincerely*; and that this was all the Ordination that they ever had: and to confirm this, it was pretended, that *Neale*, one of *Bonner*'s Chaplains, watched them into the Tavern, and saw all that was done through the Key-hole. This was given out, when all that were concerned in it, were dead; yet the old Earl of of *Nottingham*, who had seen *Parker*'s Consecration, was still alive, and declared that he saw it done at *Lambeth*, in the Chappel, according to the Common-Prayer-Book, and both the Records of the Crown, and the Registers of the See of *Canterbury*, do plainly Confute this. The Author did also see the Original Instrument then made, describing all the particulars relating to *Parker*'s Consecration, preserved still in *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*, among the other Manuscripts which he left to that House, in which he had his Education,

Book IV 1559.

The Fable of the *Naggs*-head confuted.

The first thing which the Bishops set about, was the publishing the Doctrine of the Church. In order to this, a Review was made of those Articles that had been compiled under King *Edward* the VI. and some small alterations were made. The most considerable, was, that a long Determination, that was made formerly against the Corporal Presence was now left out; and it was only said, *That the Body of Christ was given and received in a spiritual manner, and that the means by which it was received, was Faith.* Yet in the Original Subscription of the Articles

The Articles of the Church published.

Book IV 1559. Articles by both Houſes of Convocation, ſtill extant, there was a full declaration made againſt it, in theſe words, *Chriſt*, when he aſcended into Heaven, made 'his Body Immortal, but took not from it the Na-'ture of a Body. For ſtill it retains, according to 'the Scriptures, a true Humane Body, which muſt 'be always in one definite place, and cannot be 'ſpread into many, or all places at once: Since then '*Chriſt* was carried up to Heaven, and is to remain 'there to the end of the World, and is to come 'from thence, and from no other place, to Judge 'the Quick and the Dead: None of the Faithful 'ought to believe, or profeſs the Real, or as they 'call it, the Corporal Preſence of his Fleſh and 'Blood in the Euchariſt. But the deſign of the Queen's Council, was to unite once the whole Nation into the Communion of the Church; and it was feared, that ſo expreſs a definition againſt the Real Preſence, would have driven many out of the Communion of the Church, who might have been otherwiſe kept in it; and therefore it was thought enough to aſſert only the Spiritual Preſence; but that it was not neceſſary to condemn the Corporal Preſence, in ſuch expreſs words; and therefore, though the Convocation had ſo poſitively determined this Matter, it was thought more conducing to the publick Peace, to daſh it in the Original Copy, and to ſuppreſs it in the Printed Copies.

A Tranſlation of the Bible.

The next thing they took in hand, was a new Tranſlation of the Bible: Several Books of it were given to ſeveral Biſhops, who were appointed to call for ſuch Divines, as were learned in the *Greek* or *Hebrew* Tongues, and by their aſſiſtance they were to Tranſlate that parcel that fell to their ſhare: And ſo when one had compleated that which was aſſigned to him, he was to offer it to the Correction of thoſe that were appointed to Tranſlate the other parts, and after every Book had thus paſt the Cen-

ſure

ſure of all, who were imployed in this matter, then it was approved of. And ſo great haſte made they in this important Work, that within two or three Years, the whole Tranſlation was finiſhed. Book IV 1559.

There was one thing yet wanting, to compleat the Reformation of this Church, which was the reſtoring a Primitive Diſcipline, againſt ſcandalous Perſons, the eſtabliſhing the Government of the Church in Eccleſiaſtical-hands, and the taking it out of Lay-hands, who have ſo long profaned it; and have expoſed the Authority of the Church, and the Cenſures of it, chiefly Excommunication, to the Contempt of the Nation, by which the reverence due to Holy Things, is in ſo great a meaſure loſt, and the dreadfuleſt of all Cenſures, is now become the moſt ſcorned and deſpiſed. But upon what Reaſons, it cannot be now known, this was not carried on with that Zeal; nor brought to that Perfection which was neceſſary. The want of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, ſet on ſome to deviſe many new Platforms, for the adminiſtration of it, in every Pariſh; all which, gave great offence to the Government, and were ſo much oppoſed by it, that they came to nothing. Other Differences were raiſed concerning the Veſtments of the Clergy, and ſome Factions growing up in the Court, theſe Differences were heightned, by thoſe who intended to ſerve their own Ends, by making the ſeveral Parties quarrel with ſo much Animoſity, that it could ſcarce be poſſible to reconcile them: Since that time, the fatal Diviſion of this Nation, into the Court and Country Party, has been the chief occaſion of the growth and continuance of thoſe Differences; ſo that all the Attempts which have been made by moderate Men to compoſe them, have proved ineffectual. The want of Church diſcipline.

At this time there was a great Revolution of Affairs in *Scotland*. When there was a probability of The Reformation in *Scotland*.

Book IV of bringing the Treaty of *Cambray* to good effect, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* writ to his Sister, the Queen
1559. Regent of *Scotland*, and to the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, and let them know the Resolution that was taken to extirpate Heresy, and exhorted them to use their Endeavours for that end. The Queen Regent saw, that by doing this, she would not only break her Faith with the Lords, who had hitherto adhered to her, upon the assurance she gave them of her Protection, but that the Peace of *Scotland* would be endangered; for as their Party was strong, so it was not to be doubted, but the Queen of *England* would support them, and so was not easily brought to follow her Brother's cruel Counsels. But the Bishops shut their eyes upon all dangers, and resolved to strike a terror into the People, by some severe Executions. They began with *Walter Mell*, an old infirm Priest, who had preached in some places against many of the Opinions then received: He was particularly accused for having asserted the lawfulness of the Marriage of the Clergy, and for having condemned the Sacrifice of the Mass and Transubstantiation, with some other particulars, all which he confessed, and upon his refusal to abjure them, he was condemned to be burnt. Yet so averse were the People from those Cruelties, that it was not easie to find any that would execute the Sentence: Nor would any do so much as sell a Cord to tye him to the Stake, so that the Archbishop was forced to send for the Cords of his own Pavilion. The old Man expressed great firmness of mind, and such chearfulness in his sufferings, that the People were much affected at it: And this being every where looked on as a Prologue to great Severites, that were to follow, the Nobility and Gentry began to consider what was fit to be done. They had offered a Petition to the Queen Regent the last year, that the Worship might

might be in the Vulgar Tongue, that the Communion might be given in both kinds, and that scandalous Priests might be turned out, and worthy Men be put in their places. The Queen Regent being unwilling to irritate so great a Party, before the *Dauphin* was declared King of *Scotland*, promised that they should not be punished for having their Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue. In Parliament they moved for a Repeal of the Laws, for the Bishops proceedings against Hereticks, and that nothing might be judged Heresy, but that which was condemned by the Word of God; but the Queen Regent told them, these things could not pass, because of the Opposition, which was made to them, by the Spiritual Estate; upon that they made a Protestation, that whereas they had modestly moved for a redress of abuses, they were not to be blamed for the ill effects of rejecting their Petition, and the Violences that might follow. Book IV. 1559.

But when the Queen had gained her end, in relation to the *Dauphin*, she ordered a Citation to be served on all the Reformed Preachers: The Earl of *Glencairn* was, upon that, sent to put in her mind of her former promises; she answered him roughly, 'That maugre all that would take those Mens 'part, they should be banished *Scotland*; and added, that Princes were bound only to observe their 'promises so far as they found it convenient for 'them to do it. To this he replied, that if she renounced her Promises, they would renounce their Obedience to her.

In St. *Johnstown*, that Party entred into the Churches, and had Sermons publickly in them. The Ministers were coming from all parts, to appear on the 20*th*. of *May*, for to that day they had been cited; and great numbers came along with them. The Queen apprehending the ill effects of a great

It is first set up in St. *Johnstown*.

Confluence

Book VI 1559. Confluence of People, ſent them word not to come, and upon this many went home again; yet upon their not appearance, they were all declared Rebels. This foul dealing made many leave her, and go over to thoſe that were met at St. *Johnſtown*. And the heat of the People was raiſed to that pitch, that they broke in upon the Houſes of the Monks and Friars, and after they had diſtributed all that they found in them, except that which the Monks conveyed away to the Poor, they pulled them down to the ground. This provoked the Queen ſo much, that ſhe reſolved to puniſh that Town, in a moſt exemplary manner: So ſhe gathered the *French* Souldiers together, with ſuch others, as would joyn with her: But the Earl of *Glencairn* gathered 2500 Men together, and with incredible haſte, he Marched to that place, where there were now in all 7000 armed Men. This made the Queen afraid to engage with them; ſo an agreement was made. An oblivion was promiſed for all that was paſt; Matters of Religion were referred to a Parliament, and the Queen was to be received into St. *Johnſtown*, without carrying her *Frenchmen* with her: But ſhe carried them with her into the Town, and as ſhe put a Garriſon in it, ſo ſhe puniſhed many for what was paſt; and when her promiſes were objected to her, ſhe anſwered, 'Princes were not to be ſtrictly 'charged with their Promiſes, eſpecially when they 'were made to Hereticks; and that ſhe thought it 'no ſin to kill and deſtroy them all, and then would 'excuſe it as well as could be, when it was done. This turned the Hearts of the whole Nation from her, and in many places they began to pull down Images, and to raſe Monaſteries. The Queen Regent repreſented this to the King of *France*, as done on deſign to ſhake off the *French* yoke, and deſired a great Force to reduce the Country. On theother hand, ſome were ſent over from the Lords, to give

give a true repreſentation of the matter, and to let him know, that an Oblivion for what was paſt, and the free Exerciſe of their Religion for the time to come, would give full ſatisfaction. The *French* King began now to apprehend, how great a charge the keeping that Kingdom in peace, was like to come to; and ſaw the danger of the *Scots* caſting themſelves into the Arms of the Queen of *England*, therefore he ſent one, in whom the Conſtable put an entire Confidence, to *Scotland*, to bring him a true report of the ſtate of that Matter that was ſo variouſly repreſented: But before he could return, the King of *France* was dead, and the Conſtable was in Diſgrace; and all Affairs was put in the Hands of the Brothers of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, ſo that all moderate Councils were now out of doors. The People did ſo univerſally riſe againſt the Queen Regent, that ſhe was forced to retire to *Dunbar*-Caſtle: She was once willing to refer the whole matter to a Parliament: But 2000 Men coming over from *France*, and aſſurances being ſent her, of a greater Force to follow, ſhe took heart, and came and Fortified *Leith*, and again broke her laſt Agreement; upon which the Lords pretended, that in their Queen's Minority, the Government was chiefly in the States, and that the Regent was only the chief Adminiſtrator, and accountable to them; ſo they reſolved to depoſe her from her Regency. Book IV 1557.

They objected many Male Admidiſtrations to her, as her beginning a War in the Kingdom, and bringing in Strangers to ſubdue it, her embaſing the Coin, governing without conſent of the Nobility, and breaking her Faith and Promiſes to them, upon which they declared that ſhe had fallen from her Regency, and ſuſpended her Power till the next Parliament. The Lords, now called *the Lords of the Congregation*, retired from *Edenburgh* to *Sterlin*: Upon which the *French* came to *Edenburgh*, and ſet

Book IV 1559. set up the Masse again in the Churches, then a new Supply came from *France*, commanded by the Marquess of *Elbeufe*, one of the Queen Regent's Brothers, so that there were in all 4000. *French* in *Scotland*. But by her having this foreign Force, the whole Nation came to be united against the Queen, and to look on her as a common Enemy. The *Scots* who had been hitherto animated, and secretly supplied with Money and Ammunition from *England*, were now forced to desire the Queen of *England*'s aid more openly: And *France* was now like to be so much divided within it self, that the Queen did not much apprehend a War with that Crown; so she was more easily determined to assist the *Scots*.

The Queen of *England* assists the *Scots*.

A Treaty was made between the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the *Scots*: They promised to be the Queen's perpetual Allies, and that after the *French* were driven out of *Scotland*, they would continue their Obedience to their Queen: Upon which, 2000 Horse, and 6000 Foot, were sent to assist the *Scots*. These besieged *Leith*, during which, there were considerable losses on both sides, but the losses on the side of the *English* were more easily made up, Supplies being nearer at hand. The *French* offered to put *Calais* again into the Queen of *England*'s Hands, if she would recall her Forces out of *Scotland*: She answered on the sudden, she did not value that Fish-Town, so much as she did the Quiet of the Isle of *Britain*. But she offered to mediate a Peace between them and the *Scots*.

10 *June*. The *Queen* Regent dies.

Before this could be affected, the Queen Regent of *Scocland* died, she sent for some of the *Scotish* Lords in her sickness, and asked them pardon for the Injuries she had done them: She advised them to send both the *French* and *English* out of *Scotland*, and prayed them to continue in their Obedience to their Queen: She also discoursed with one of their Preachers,

Preachers, and declared that she hoped to be saved only by the Merits of Christ. She had Govern ed the Nation, before the last year of her life, with such Justice and Prudence, and was so great an Example, both in her own Person, and in the Order of her Court, that if she had died before her Brother's bloody Counsels had involved her in these last passages of her Life, she had been the most lamented and esteemed Queen that had been in that Nation, for many Ages. Her own Inclinations were Just and Moderate; and she often said, that if her Counsels might take place, she did not doubt, but she should bring all things again to perfect Tranquillity and Peace: Soon after a Peace was concluded, between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*: An Oblivion was granted for all that was past; The *French* and *English* were to be sent out of *Scotland*, and all other things were to be referred to a Parliament. During the Queen's absence, the Kingdom was to be governed by a Council of 12, all Natives; of these the Queen was to name 7, and the States were to choose 5. So both the *English* and *French* were sent out of *Scotland*; and the Parliament met in *August*. Book IV 1559.

A Parliament meets, and settles the Reformation.

In it, all Acts for the former way of Religion were repealed, and a Confession of Faith penned by *Knox*, afterwards inserted among the Acts of Parliament, 1567, was confirmed. These Acts were opposed only by three Temporal Lords, who said, they would believe as their Fathers had done: But all the Spiritual Lords, both Bishops, and Abbots, consented to them; and they did dilapidate the Lands and Revenues of the Church in the strangest manner, that was ever known: The Abbots converted their Abbies into Temporal Estates, and the Bishops, though they continued Papists still, divided all their Lands among their Bastards or Kindred; and procured confirmations of many of the Grants they gave from *Rome*: By which, that Church was so impoverished

Book IV 1559. that if King *James* and King *Charles* the First, had not with much zeal, and great endeavours, retrieved ſome part of the Ancient Revenues, and provided a conſiderable maintenance for the Inferiour Clergy, all the encouragements to Religion and Learning had been to ſuch a degree withdrawn, that Barbariſm muſt have again over-run that Kingdom. When theſe Acts thus agreed on in the Parliament of *Scotland*, were ſent over to *France*, they were rejected with great ſcorn; ſo that the *Scots* began to apprehend a new War: But *Francis* the Second's Death, ſoon after delivered them from all their Fears: For their Queen having no more the ſupport of ſo great a Crown, was forced to return home, and govern in ſuch a manner, as that Nation was pleaſed to ſubmit to.

The Queen of *England* the Head of all the Proteſtants,

Thus the Queen of *England* divided *Scotland*, from its ancient dependance on *France*, and had tied it ſo to her own Intereſts, that ſhe was not only ſecure on that ſide of her Dominions, but came to have ſo great an Intereſt in *Scotland*, that Affairs there, were for moſt part governed according to the Directions ſhe ſent thither. Other Accidents did alſo concur to give her a great ſhare in all the moſt Important Affairs of *Europe*.

Both in *France*,

In *France*, upon *Henry* the Second's fatal End, great Diviſions aroſe between the Princes of the Blood, and the Brothers of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, into whoſe Hands the Adminiſtration of Affairs was put, during *Francis* the Second's ſhort Reign: It was pretended on the one hand, that the King was not of Age, till he was 22, and that during his Minority, the Princes of the Blood were to Govern by the Advice of the Courts of Parliaments, and the Aſſembly of Eſtates: On the other hand, it was ſaid, that the King might aſſume the Government, and Imploy whom he pleaſed at 14. A deſign was laid, in which many of both Religions concurred, for taking

king the Government out of the Hands of the Strangers, and seizing on the King's Person, but a Protestant, moved by a Principle of Conscience, discovered it. Upon this the Prince of *Conde*, and many others, were seized on, and if the King had not died soon after, they had suffered for it. *Charles* the Ninth succeeding, who was under Age, the King of *Navarre* was declared Regent, but *He*, though before a Protestant, was drawn into the Papist Interest; and joined himself with the Queen Mother, and the Constable. A severe Edict was made against the Protestants, but the Execution of it was like to raise great Disorders, so another was made in a great Assembly of many Ptinces of the Blood, Privy Councellours, and 8 Courts of Parliament, allowing the free exercise of that Religion: Yet after this, the Duke of *Guise*, reconciled himself to the Queen Mother, and they resolved to break the Edict: So the Duke of *Guise* happening to pass by a Meeting of Protestants, his Servants offered violence to them; from reproachful words, it went to throwing of stones; by one of which the Duke was hurt: Upon which, his Servants killed 60 of the Protestants, and wounded 200; and upon this the Edict was every where broken. It was said, that the Regent's Power did not extend so far, as that he could break so publick an Edict, and that therefore it was lawful for the Protestants to defend themselves. The Prince of *Conde* set himself at the Head of them, and the King of *Navarre* being killed soon after the breaking out of the War, *He*, as the first Prince of the Blood, that was of Age, ought to have been declared Regent: So that the Protestants said, their defending themselves was not Rebellion, since they had both the Law, and the first Prince of the Blood on their side. The Wars lasted near 30 Years, for in all that time, notwithstanding some Intervals of Peace, the Seeds of War were never so

Book IV 1559.

Book IV 1559.

rooted out, but that they were ready to ſpring up, upon every new occaſion. In this the Queen interpoſed, and ſupported the Proteſtant Party, ſometimes with Men, but oftner with Money, ſo that ſhe had near the half of that Kingdom depending on her.

And in the *Netherlands*

In the *Netherlands*, a long continuance of Civil Wars almoſt on the ſame account, gave her the like advantages. The King of *Spain*, by endeavouring to ſet up the Courts of Inquiſition in thoſe Provinces, and by keeping ſome *Spaniſh* Troops among them, and other Exceſſes in his Government, contrary to the Articles of the *Lætus Introitus*, provoked them ſo much, that they ſhook off his Yoke: And were ſupported by the Aid and Money which the Queen ſent them. So that the Queen met with ſuch a Conjuncture of Affairs in the Dominions of thoſe Princes that were next her, of whom only ſhe had reaſon to be afraid, as ſcarce any Prince ever had.

The excellent Adminiſtration of Affairs in *England*.

In Foreign Parts, ſhe was the Arbiter of Chriſtendom; and at Home things were ſo happily managed, Trade did ſo flouriſh, and Juſtice was ſo equally diſtributed, that ſhe became the Wonder of the World. She was Victorious in all her Wars with *Spain*; and no wonder: For it appeared ſignally in the ruin of the great *Armada*, which *Spain* lookt on as *Invincible*, that Heaven fought for her. She reigned more abſolutely over the Hearts, than the Perſons of her Subjects. She always followed the true Intereſts of her People, and ſo found her Parliaments always ready to comply with her deſires, and to grant her Subſidies, as often as ſhe called for them: And as ſhe never asked them, but when the occaſion for them was viſible, ſo after they were granted, if the ſtate of her Affairs changed ſo, that ſhe needed them not, ſhe readily diſcharged them. *Rome* and *Spain* ſet many Engines on work, both againſt her Perſon and Government, but ſhe ſtill lived

and

and triumphed. In the first ten Years of her Reign, the Papists were so compliant, that there was no stir made about matters of Religion. Pope *Pius* the Fourth condemned the madness of his Predecessor, in that high and provoking Message, which he sent her; and therefore he attempted a Reconciliation with her, at two several times: And offered, if she would joyn her self to the See of *Rome*, that he would annul the Sentence against her Mother's Marriage, and confirm the *English* Service, and the Communion in both Kinds. But she refused to enter into any Treaty with him. *Pius* the Fifth, that succeeded him in that Chair, resolved to contrive her Death, as is related by him, that writes his Life. The unfortunate Queen of *Scotland* was forced to take Sanctuary in *England*; where it was resolved to use her well, and restore her to her Crown and Country. But her own officious Friends, and the frequent Plots that were laid, for taking away the Queen's Life, brought on her the Calamities of a long Imprisonment, that ended in a Tragical Death: Which, though it was the greatest blemish of this Reign, yet was made in some sort justifiable, if not necessary, by the many Attempts that the Papists made on the Queen's Life: And by the Deposition which Pope *Pius* the Fifth thundred out against her; from which it was inferred, that as long as that Party had the hopes of such a Successor, the Queen's Life was not safe, nor her Government secure.

Book IV 1559.

Cæna.

This led her towards the end of her Reign, to greater Severities against those of the Roman Communion, of which a Copious Account is given by Sir *Francis Walsingham*, that was for so many Years imployed, either in Foreign Embassies, or in the Secrets of State at Home; that none knew better than he did, the hidden Springs that moved and directed all her Councils. He writ a long Letter to a *French* Man, giving him an account of all the severities of the

Severities against Papists were necessary.

Book IV the Queen's Governmant, both againſt Papiſts and Puritans.

1559. Sir *Fr. Walſingham's* account of the ſteps in which ſhe proceeded.

The ſubſtance of which is, 'That the Queen laid 'down two Maxims of State; the one was not to 'force Conſciences, the other was not to let factious 'practices go unpuniſhed, becauſe they were cover-'ed with the pretences of Conſcience: At firſt, ſhe 'did not revive thoſe ſevere Laws paſt in her Fa-'ther's time, by which the refuſal of the Oath of 'Supremacy was made Treaſon, but left her Peo-'ple to the freedom of their Thoughts, and made 'it only Penal to extol a Foreign Juriſdiction: She 'alſo laid aſide the word *Supream Head*, and the re-'fuſers of the Oath were only diſabled from hold-'ing Benefices, or Charges, during their Refuſal. 'Upon *Pius* the Fifth's Excommunicating her, 'though the Rebellion in the North was chiefly oc-'caſioned by that, ſhe only made a Law againſt the 'bringing over, or publiſhing of Bulls; and the 'venting of *Agnus Dei*'s, or ſuch other Love-tokens, 'which were ſent from *Rome*, on deſign to draw the 'Hearts of her People from her, which were no eſ-'ſential parts of that Religion; ſo that this could 'hurt none of their Conſciences. But when after 'the the 20*th* Year of her Reign, it appeared that 'the King of *Spain* deſigned to Invade her Domini-'ons, and that the Prieſts that were ſent over from 'the Seminaries beyond Sea, were generally im-'ployed to corrupt the Subjects in their Allegiance, 'by which, Treaſon was carried in the Clouds, and 'Infuſed ſecretly in Confeſſion: Then pecuniary Pu-'niſhments were inflicted on ſuch as withdrew from 'the Church: And in Concluſion, ſhe was forced to 'make Laws of greater rigour, but did often miti-'gate the ſeverity of them, to all that would promiſe 'to adhere to her, in caſe of a Foreign Invaſion. As 'for the Puritans, as long as they only inveighed a-'gainſt ſome Abuſes, as Pluralities, Non-reſidence, or

'the

'the like, it was not their Zeal againſt thoſe, but their Violence only that was condemned: When they refuſed to comply with ſome Ceremonies, and queſtioned the Superiority of Biſhops, and declared for a Democracy in the Church, they were connived at with great gentleneſs: But it was obſerved, that they affected Popularity much, and the Methods they took to compaſs their ends, were judged dangerous, and they made ſuch uſe of the Averſion the Nation had to Popery, that it was viſible they were in hazard of running from one Extream to another: They ſet up a New Model of Church Diſcipline, which was like to prove no leſs dangerous to the Liberties of private Men, than to the Soveraign Power of the Prince: Yet all this was born with, as long as they proceeded with thoſe Expreſſions of Duty, which became Subjects. But afterwards, when they reſolved to carry on their Deſigns, without waiting for the conſent of the Magiſtrate, and entred into Combinations; when they began to defame the Government by ridiculous Paſquils, and boaſted of their Numbers and Strength, and in ſome places broke out into Tumults, then it appeared that it was Faction, and not Zeal, that animated them. Upon that, the Queen found it neceſſary to reſtrain them, more than ſhe had done formerly; yet ſhe did it with all the Moderation that could conſiſt with the Peace of the Church and State. And thus, from this Letter, an Idea of this whole Reign may be juſtly formed.

Book IV. 1559.

The Concluſion.

Thus have I proſecuted, what I at firſt undertook, the Progreſs of the Reformation, from its firſt, and ſmall beginnings in *England*, till it came to a compleat Settlement in the time of this Queen. Of whoſe

Book IV whose Reign, if I have adventured to give any Account, it was not intended so much for a full Character of Her, and Her Councils, as to set out the great and visible Blessings of God that attended on Her; the many Preservations she had, and that by such signal Discoveries, as both saved Her Life, and secured Her Government; and the unusual Happiness of Her whole Reign, which raised Her to the Esteem, and Envy of that Age, and the Wonder of all Posterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a Virgin Queen could Rule such a Kingdom, for above 44 Years, with such constant Success, in so great Tranquillity at Home, with a vast increase of Wealth, and with such Glory Abroad. All which may justly be esteemed to have been the Rewards of Heaven, crowning that Reign with so much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Reformation of Religion.

1559.

FINIS.

